

HUNGARY IN CONTEXT
STUDIES ON ART AND ARCHITECTURE

HUNGARY IN CONTEXT

STUDIES ON ART AND ARCHITECTURE

Edited by

Anna Tüskés, Áron Tóth, Miklós Székely

Essays

Júlia Bara, Mirjam Dénes, Zsombor Jékely, Anikó Katona,
Petra Dóra Kárai, Nikoletta Koruhely, Beatrix Mecsi, Ágnes Mészáros,
Flóra Mészáros, Tibor Rostás, Andrea Rózsavölgyi, Katalin Simon,
Iván Szántó, Zsuzsanna Szegedy-Maszák, Ágnes Torma, Anna Tüskés,
Ferenc Veress

CentrArt, Budapest, 2013

Hungary in Context
Studies on Art and Architecture

CentrArt Association – New Workshop for Art Historians

The publication of this book was made possible by the support of
National Cultural Fund



Nemzeti Kulturális Alap

English language essays proofread by Viktória Szabó
German language essay proofread by Virág Katalin Balogh
Italian language essays proofread by Paolo Tellina
French language essay proofread by Yves-André Gomez

Illustrations

Front cover:

Ferenc Martyn: Composition. Budapest, Private Property.
Oil on canvas. 97×196 cm. 1935. (Körmendi Gallery's photo)

The authors of the essays are responsible for the contents of their texts as well as for
obtaining permission to reprint the images included in their essays.

© Copyright 2013 by the editor, the authors and the photographers
All rights reserved. This book may not be reproduced, in whole or part, without
written permission from the publishers.

ISBN 978-963-88825-3-0

Responsible publisher Miklós Székely
President of CentrArt Association

Page setting and cover design Gyula Papp, Pipaszó Bt.
Printed in Hungary by PRINT.SHOP.HU Ltd.



Contents

BEATRIX MECSEI: One of the Earliest Paintings of Hungary: Mural Fragments from the Visegrád Decanal Church.	7
TIBOR ROSTÁS: Die Franziskanerkirche von Pozsega	15
ZSOMBOR JÉKELY: Painted Chancels in Parish Churches – Aristocratic Patronage in Hungary during the Reign of King Sigismund (1387–1437)	41
FERENC VERESS: Scultori italiani nella corte del re Mattia Corvino (1458–1490)... ..	59
IVÁN SZÁNTÓ: The Royal and the Popular in Early Safavid Art.	67
JÚLIA BARA: “Regnavit Alexander et mortuus est.” The Funeral Ceremony of Sándor Károlyi in 1744 and its Art Historical Aspects	79
KATALIN SIMON: The Iconostasis of the Greek Catholic Church in Szerencs	101
ZSUZSANNA SZEGEDY-MASZÁK: The Social Circle of Miklós Barabás at the Inception of his Career	115
ÁGNES MÉSZÁROS: Orientalising the Orient – Transforming Water-colours to a Lithographed Travel Album: Pictures by Count Iván Forray and Joseph Heicke.	127
ANNA TÜSKÉS: Mercanti veneziani e Wilhelm von Bode.....	145
MIRJAM DÉNES: Shades of Japonisme in Hungarian Set and Costume Design Around the Turn of the 20 th Century	165
ÁGNES TORMA: The influence of Moorish Art in Hungarian Architecture at the End of the 19 th century	181
PETRA DÓRA KÁRAI: Apollinaire, chroniqueur des salons de Paris, sur les peintres fauves (et !) hongrois	193
ANIKÓ KATONA: Ungarische Plakate des Ersten Weltkriegs: Ikonografie der Propaganda – im internationalen Kontext	211
ANDREA RÓZSAVÖLGYI: 20 Years in Emigration: Emil Delmár and the Disintegration of His Collection	225
FLÓRA MÉSZÁROS: Ferenc Martyn and the Parisian Abstract Art	239
NIKOLETTA KORUHELY: Behavioral Patterns of the Social Classes Through British Movies: A Close Reading of Billy Elliot.	255
Index	275

One of the earliest paintings of Hungary: mural fragments from the Visegrád decanal church¹

Beatrix Mecsi

We know only little about the earliest paintings in Hungary, due to their rarity and fragmentariness. Therefore it was a great marvel when excavations in 1977-78 uncovered two 11th century buildings in Visegrád, near Sibrik Hill. Archeologists led by Mátyás Szőke found a small church with a semi-arched apse, and a later, square-ended one built over the first building. Mural fragments were found on the excavated apse wall and a strip on the South wall – nine meters long and one meter high, continuing round onto the West wall. The decoration showed animal figures enclosed in circles and panels with imitations of marble. Apart from the in-situ frescos mentioned above, thousands of mural fragments were unearthed, where the author of this paper had been working since 1995, putting together the pieces of fresco-fragments and thus attempting to get a better understanding of the iconographical programme and stylistic relationships of these very early paintings. The paper is an introduction to this rich material for a better understanding of one of the earliest surviving paintings in Hungary.

The town called Visegrád is located 30 kilometres North of Budapest, where the Danube cuts across the Visegrád mountains. The settlement is first mentioned in a charter issued in 1009 for the Bishopry of Veszprém as part of the diocese. In this earliest source, the bishop referred to it as “Visegrad civitas”, ie. Visegrád county, the predecessor of the counties that later became Pest and Pilis.² This county, along with the counties of Esztergom located above and Fejér below it, covered the areas on both sides of the river Danube. Its seat was a castle converted from a late-Roman fortress on the Sibrik hill, called Visegrád (“higher-lying castle”) by the Slavs living in the neighborhood at the end of the 10th century.³ The first parish church on Sibrik Hill was established along with the bailiff centre, which was set up in the early era of the Árpád dynasty. It was protected directly by the bailiff castle and its serfs. Parish priests launched the construction of churches with the help of bailiffs, and the two groups also acted together in enforcing Sunday as a public holiday, when everyone was required to go to church. Later, following the emergence and consolidation of the Church as an organisation, the parish priests based in the bailiff centres became the leaders of the episcopal districts.⁴

Therefore, the earliest churches in Visegrád can be linked to the above mentioned region close to the Sibrik hill area, but soon further churches and monasteries were established in the region. Among these churches and monasteries the most interesting

from the perspective of mural paintings is the one with the frescoes discovered on the Sibrik hill, East of the bailiffs' castle at the side of the castle hill. This is the so-called decanal church dated from the 11th century, built on the walls of the St. Stephen era parish church. This paper is an introduction to this mainly unpublished material, which can be considered as one of the earliest high quality mural fragments from Hungary.

The decanal church⁵

When the St. Stephen era parish church was replaced, they used it as a foundation for a larger church with a straight apse. The only nave of this latter church was divided into two parts by a timber apse screen. However, of this structure only the imprint of its sleepers in the South wall and the two postholes of its central door remained. (Fig. 1.)

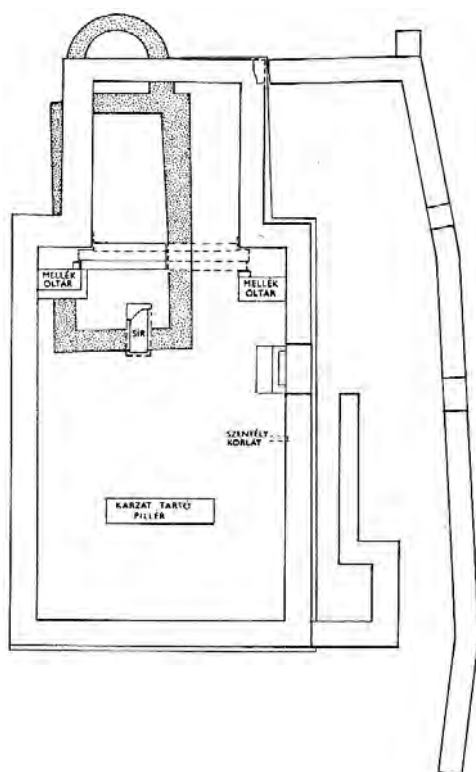


Fig. 1. Ground-plan of the churches. Drawing: Mátyás Szőke. Szőke, 1986, 7.

According to the observation and opinion of Gergely Buzás, the whole edifice to the West of the church was erected due to a change of plans during the construction. Following the completion of the chancel of the church, the rich interior decoration was finished. (We can assume this as it is possible to observe traces of red painting on one shoulder cornice.)

In the Eastern section, three altars were constructed. In front of the main altar, in a tomb covered by a stone slab, an aristocrat could have been buried – based on the size of the tomb, possibly a child. In the Western part, a wide chancel tower was elevated with an incorporated celestory. Above two Corinthian columns of the ground floor underneath the celestory, the vault arches were held by shoulder stones decorated with carvings in the shape of a palmette.⁶

Onto the parapet of the first floor, five small, octagonal columns could have been placed according to Gergely Buzás's reconstruction. These columns might have supported the walls of the tower along the entire width of the nave, distributing the load on shoulder stones decorated by palmettes and ribbons. (Two fragments of the stone capitals were also published in the *Pannonia Regia* exhibition catalogue, cat. I-17, I-19).⁷

An external staircase led to the celestory from the South side, and a spiral staircase to the top floors of the tower.

There was a veranda in front of the Southern gate of the church, used for burials. In some of its graves prestigious gold jewellery was found. One of these graves was covered by a sawed Roman column as a tombstone. In front of the Southern entrance of the veranda, a pile-structured timber house was erected. Traces of wooden buildings of a similar structure were also found in front of the Western entrance hall. Graves belonging to the priests of the church were located behind the sanctuary. In one of their tombs, an 11th century tin cup and paten were discovered, whereas in another a penitence iron belt was found.⁸

The church cemetery was located to the West of the building. Among the coin findings in the new cemetery tombs, which was separate from the old cemetery, the earliest ones belonged to King Solomon (1063–1074) and to Prince Géza. At one grave dated by a coin from the era of King St Ladislaus (1077–1095), it was observed that the excavation had already crossed the mortar layer of the second church building with the straight apse.⁹ Based on these observations the church is dated to the 11th century, probably during the reign of King Solomon.

Shortly after its completion, this church was abandoned in the 12th century, not allowing for a long time frame to be used. Some of the graves were exhumed, and its stones started being taken away. This can be proved by the fact that amongst the ruins of one of the side-altars, a 12th century coin was found. It was at the time of the 13th century great castle building activity following the Mongol invasion that the ruins of the building were finally dismantled, for the stones to be used in the construction of the residential tower of the lower castle.¹⁰

Murals of the decanal church

The earliest remains of Hungarian painting art are generally little known, which is partly due to the rarity of these remains, and partly to frequent repainting and fragmentaryness. Information about them is also only accessible for a narrow professional audience as they are published in specialised publications, if anything at all.

Therefore in the 1970s it was a great sensation when at the Visegrád Sibrik Hill excavations, painted mural fragments of amazing freshness turned up from the remains

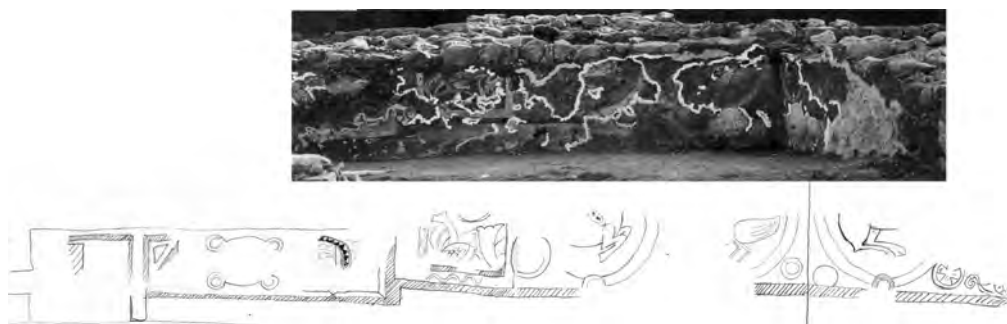


Fig. 2. In situ fragments on the Southern and Western parts of the wall of the nave. Photo: Hungarian National Museum, 1978. Drawing: Beatrix Mecsi

of the 11th century decanal church. Several documentary and newspaper articles have written about this occurrence.¹¹ However, after the sensation was over, the enthusiasm ceased a bit and focus shifted to the conservation and protection aspects,¹² and only in 1994, at the *Pannonia Regia* exhibition did they appear again in the spotlight.¹³ Academic investigation of the unearthed findings of paintings during the excavation has been in progress since 1995. What increases the difficulty of the work is that apart from the relatively intact paintings on the lower wall sections of the church, there are thousands of tiny fragments in addition. These were found in various sections at the excavation, and the academic investigation and reassembling of these little pieces requires great patience and care.

In this paper I provide a short report about the still ongoing research to draw attention to one of Hungary's oldest wall paintings, which is worthy of greater publicity and visibility. The 11th century church murals excavated from the Visegrad Sibirik hill church in 1977 to 78 can be divided into two main groups in terms of where they were found. The most spectacular details of the painting remained in the Southern part of the wall, up to the height of about 1 metre from the ground. On the Southern walls of the sanctuary there are also some fragments showing geometric patterns in the length of 1.6 metres. On the Southern and partly on the Western parts of the wall of the nave, in a length of 9 metres, painted fragments remained in the bottom parts.¹⁴ These mural fragments that remained in situ display round or square framed fields with animal figures (deer attacked by a tiger or a lion (?), a bird, etc.) or marble-imitation surfaces. (Fig. 2) In the line of the columns of the gallery there are interlocking fish-tails (Fig. 3), and in the nave an inlay of colorful marble-imitation tiles can be seen.



Fig. 3. Fragment of interlocking fish-tails.
Photo: Hungarian National Museum, 1978

The other – more exciting – parts of the findings are the fragments that come from the higher sections of the church walls. These fragments, coming from the archaeological excavations underground, can be regarded as parts of a pictorial programme, which due to its iconographic significance is much more important than the fragments from the lower sections of the church wall. However, due to their fragmentariness it is very difficult to reconstruct the iconographic programme they represent.

The shades of fine grades of ocher and light green colours, the brilliantly used white highlights that were found on a fragment showing a man's head recall the illusionism of the classical heritage of Byzantine painting that transferred traditions of early romanesque art.¹⁵ (Fig. 4) This is a unique piece finished in a Byzantine painting style, which spread across Europe in the 11th century.

Unfortunately, from this era there have been no similar, high-quality paintings found from the surrounding countries to date; thus we can only suppose the greatness



Fig. 4. Fragment of a male head. Photo: Attila Mudrák. Drawing: Beatrix Mecsi



Fig. 5. Fragment of a female head. Photo: Attila Mudrák. Drawing: Beatrix Mecsi

and importance of the visual programme, based on assembling smaller and larger fragments into one.

I was able to extend the fragment of a female head with further details. This finding was displayed at the *Pannonia Regia* exhibition (1994), in the Hungarian National Gallery and then at the international touring exhibition “Europe’s Centre at around AD.1000” (2000–2002) in the Hungarian National Museum in Budapest, and later in Krakow, Berlin, Mannheim, Prague and Bratislava.¹⁶ Behind the figure of this woman the loose yellow brush strokes that the background decoration was painted with is very likely to be a representation of a decorative curtain. (Fig. 5) Another detail of a female head mostly captures attention with a rich hairpiece. Unfortunately, no face has been found yet among the assembled details that would have fit into this fragment.

Besides the images, traces of inscriptions were also found among the details of figural mural fragments, but understanding them requires more concentrated work. Comparing these letter types with tables of mediaeval letter types can bring us closer to comprehending them, and the relations of these murals with other paintings.

The Visegrád ‘decanal church’ must have been a very important church, which can be proved on the one hand by the fact that the church, regardless of its small size, had very high quality decorative paintings (in that period it was very rare to paint a church fully).¹⁷ On the other hand its sculptural fragments can be connected to construction works made for the royal court, so it is highly possible that the same sculptors were working at the royal constructions in Tihany, Veszprém and Pilisszentkereszt¹⁸ as in Visegrád. The research of relations of style and historical aspects within this significant archeological find is still ongoing, hopefully bringing us closer to the relics from an early era that deserves to be known by a broader audience.

Notes

- 1 This paper was published in Hungarian language in *Ars Perennis*, ed. Anna Tüskés, (Budapest: CentrArt Egyesület, 2010), 19–23. based on the lecture of the author at ELTE University at the 2nd Conference of Young Art Historians, Budapest, 27–28 November 2009.
- 2 György Györffy, “Budapest története az Árpád-korban” (History of Budapest in the Age of the Árpáds), in *Budapest Története* (History of Budapest), ed. László Gerevich (Budapest, 1973), 219–349.
- 3 Mátyás Szőke, *Visegrád. Ispánság Központ* (Visegrád. Bailiff Center), *Tájak Korok Múzeumok kiskönyvtára* 244. (Budapest, 1986), 1.
- 4 Szőke, 1986, 4–5.
- 5 See Gergely Buzás’s detailed explanations: Gergely Buzás and Orsolya Mészáros, “A középkori Visegrád egyházainak régészeti kutatása” (Archaeological Research of the Churches of Mediaeval Visegrád), *Magyar Sion* New Series 2 (44.) (2008) Nr. 1: 71–103.
- 6 Buzás, 2008, 71.
- 7 Sándor Tóth, “I-17. I-19. catalogue entry,” in *Pannonia Regia. Művészet a Dunántúlon 1000-1541* (Pannonia Regia. Art in Transdanubia 1000-1541), ed. Árpád Mikó and Imre Takács, (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, 1994), 218.
- 8 Buzás, 2008, 72.

- 9 Buzás, 2008, 72.
- 10 Buzás, 2008, 72.
- 11 Márta Sárvári, “Visegrád vallomása” (Testimony of Visegrád), *Delta* (1979) Nr. 2: 10–13; Károly Kiss, *Ebek harmincadján* (‘Abandoned’) (Budapest: Szépirodalmi Könyvkiadó, 1982), 213–228; Károly Kiss, “A Sibrik-domb titka” (The secret of the Sibrik-hill), *Magyar Nemzet* n.d.; Károly Kiss, “Dialektikus műemlékvédelem?” (Dialectical monument protection?), *Magyar Nemzet* 47 (1984) Nr. 53: 10; László Császár, *Nemzeti Kincseink sorsa* (The Fate of Our National Treasures), *Magyar Nemzet* 47 (1984) Nr. 53: 10.
- 12 Restorer: Ferenc Rády. Ferenc Rády, “The Decanal Church at Visegrád: Discovery and Removal of the Eleventh-century Frescoes,” in *Case studies in the conservation of stone and wall paintings: preprints of the contributions to the Bologna Congress, 21–26 September 1986*, ed. N.S. Brommelle and Perry Smith (London: IIC, 1986), 101–104; Building design for protecting the ruins: Ferenc Erdei (OMF), 1986.
- 13 Melinda Tóth, “III-1. catalogue entry,” in *Pannonia Regia. Művészet a Dunántúlon 1000–1541* (Pannonia Regia. Art in Transdanubia 1000–1541), ed. Árpád Mikó and Imre Takács (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, 1994), 218; Melinda Tóth, “Falfestészet az Árpád-korban. Kutatási helyzetkép” (Mural Painting in the Árpád-era. A state of Research), in *Ars Hungarica* 23 (1995) Nr. 2: 139.
- 14 Mátyás Szőke, “A visegrádi várispánsági központ kutatása” (Research of the Visegrád Bailiff), *Dunakanyar, A Dunakanyar Intéző Bizottság Tájékoztatója* 17 (1980) Nr. 2: 35–37.
- 15 M. Tóth, 1995, 139.
- 16 *Európa közepe 1000 körül 2.* (Europas Mitte um 1000 / Art in Central Europe Around Year 1000), ed. Alfried Wiczorek and Hans Martin Hinz (Stuttgart: Theiss, 2000), 584–587.
- 17 M. Tóth, 1995, 139.
- 18 Szőke, 1980, 35–37.

Die Franziskanerkirche von Pozsega*

Tibor Rostás

Pozsega (heute in Kroatien, Požega) liegt östlich vom mittelalterlichen Slawonien, nördlich der Save, am Ufer von deren Nebenfluss Orjava. Die mittelalterliche Stadt, die das einstige Zentrum des danach benannten Komitates war, verfügte über zwei Bettelordensklöster. Die Franziskaner siedelten sich im südwestlichen Winkel der Siedlung nieder. An der Nordseite ihrer Kirche öffnet sich der Hauptplatz, während auf der anderen, südlichen Seite verlief einst unmittelbar neben dem Kloster die Stadtmauer. Die einstöckigen, aus Ziegeln erbauten barocken Klosterflügeln grenzen von drei Seiten an die Kirche. Über den mittelalterlichen Zustand des Klosters besitzen wir keinerlei Angaben.

Aufgrund der Urkunden von Anfang des 14. Jahrhunderts wurde die Kirche dem Hl. Demetrius geweiht,¹ das derzeitige Hl. Geist Patrozinium ist neuzeitlichen Ursprungs.² Das einschiffige Gebäude endet in einem zweijochigen Chor mit 5/8-Abschluss, der etwas schmaler ist, als das Kirchenschiff (Abb. 1/A-B).³ Letztere ist barockisiert, vierjochig und mit böhmischen Kappen gewölbt, welche durch breite, vom Kämpfergesims aufsteigenden Korbbogengurte voneinander getrennt sind. An das südöstliche Ende des Schiffes ist ein prismenförmiger Turm angebaut. Westlich des Turmes öffnet sich eine nach Süden ausgerichtete Kapelle mit polygonalem Abschluss in das Kirchenschiff. Auf der Nordseite befinden sich drei Kapellen, die ähnlich dem Südlichen polygonale Abschlüsse haben, aber mit nördlicher Ausrichtung. Die nördlichen Kapellen werden mit Rundbogenöffnungen miteinander verbunden. Im Westen steht eine einfache, zweijochige, dreischiffige Orgelempore mit gemauerter Brüstung auf gedrungenen, kurzen Pfeilern.

* Ich danke Tibor Kollár dafür, dass er es mir mit seiner weitgehenden Unterstützung und Hilfe ermöglicht hat, diesen Aufsatz zu schreiben, mein Dank gebührt auch Sándor Tóth für die Konsultationen und für seine Ratschläge als Lektor, Lada Prister für ihre Hilfe in Zagreb, den Kollegen in Požega für ihre Hilfsbereitschaft, Günter Buchinger für die Wiener Fotos, Endre Raffay für die vielen Übersetzungen aus dem Kroatischen. Die ungarische Variante des Artikels ist hier erschienen: Tibor Rostás, "Három drávántúli emlék a 13. századból" (Drei Denkmale südlich der Drau aus dem 13. Jahrhundert), in *Építészet a középkori Dél-Magyarországon. Tanulmányok* (Architecture in Medieval Southern Hungary – Studies), hg. von Tibor Kollár und Tibor Rostás, (Budapest: Teleki László Alapítvány, 2010), 212–230. Deutsche Übersetzung: Péter Schmidt.

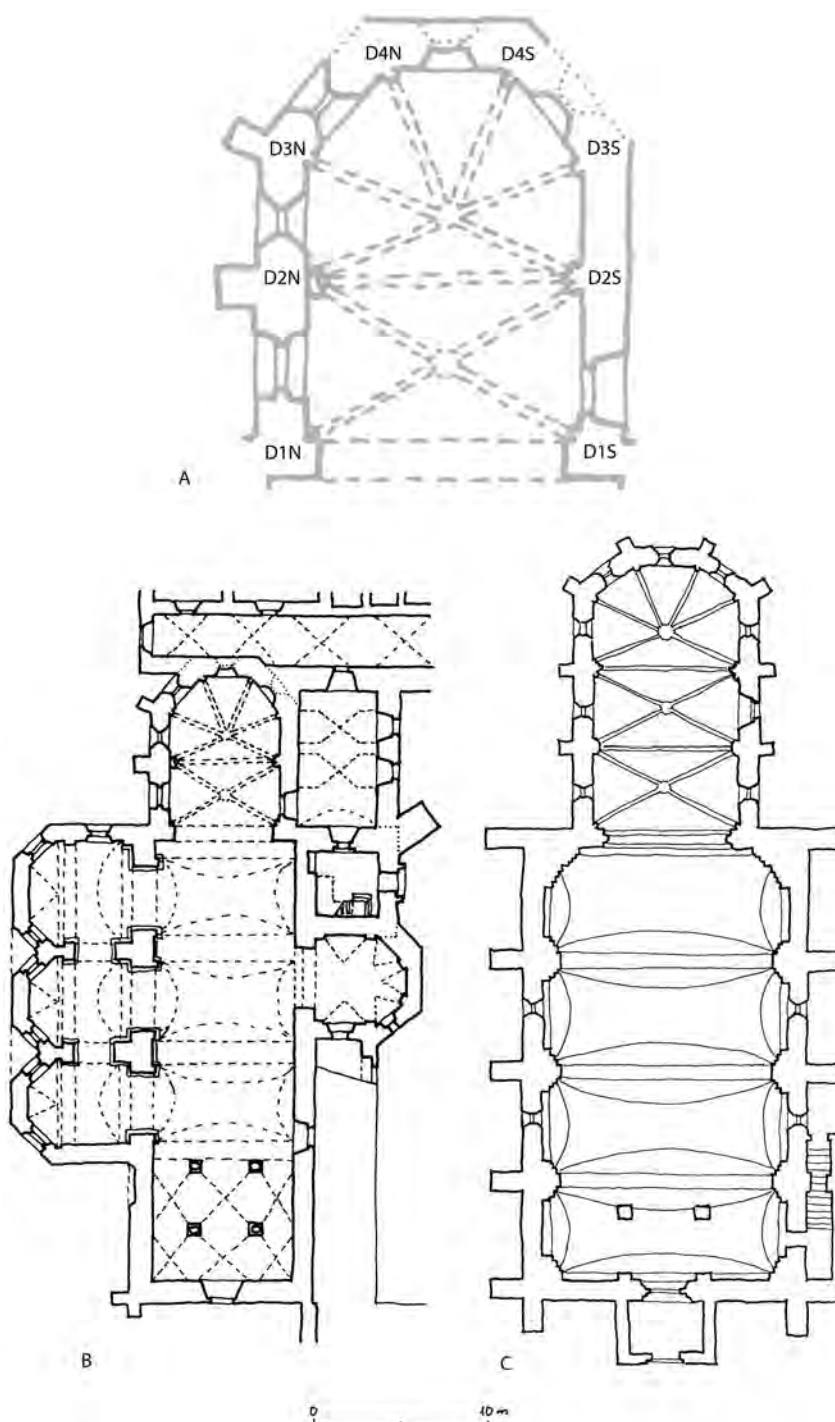


Abb. 1. A. Chor der Franziskanerkirche zu Pozsega mit den Zeichen der Dienste: D=Dienst, N=Norden, S=Süden B. Grundriss der Franziskanerkirche zu Pozsega (nach Vukičević-Samaržija, 1994, Abb. 1. und Vermessung von Davorin Stepinac 1994) C. Grundriss der Franziskanerkirche zu Bistritz. Nach Rostás, 1998, Abb. 2

Die Mauern des Kirchenschiffes stammen aus dem 13. Jahrhundert: Dieses zeigt das Strebepfeilerpaar an der nördlichen Ecke der Westfassade, die freigelegten Fenstern der Seitenmauern, sowie jenes Portal auf der nördlichen Seite, das sich westlich der Kapellen befindet. Die einfachen, ungegliederten Strebepfeiler der Mauerecke verlaufen quasi als Fortsetzung der Mauern. Ob es auch an der südwestlichen Ecke ein solches Strebepfeilerpaar gegeben hat, kann derzeit nicht gesagt werden. Die Innenseite der fünf vermauerten Fenster der Südseite ist freigelegt. Sie haben schräge Fensterlaibungen, welche aus Quadern gebildet sind; ihr oberer Teil ist von den neuzeitlichen Gewölben verdeckt. Eine Ausnahme bildet das vollständig freigelegte erste westliche Fenster, welches rundbogig ist. Die nördlichen Fenster wurden von der Außenseite des Mauer, d.h. von den Kapellen her untersucht. Es wurde die zweite Öffnung von Westen freigelegt, sowie der Rundbogenabschluss des östlichen Fensters. Letzteres befindet sich westlicher, als sein südliches Pendant, sodass merkwürdiger Weise die beiden Fensterreihen der Seitenmauern des Kirchenschiffes nicht axial zueinander angelegt waren.



Abb. 2. Nordwestportal der Franziskanerkirche zu Pozsega. Nach Uzelac 1995. Abb. auf S. 6

Der innere Teil des nordwestlichen, rundbogigen Stufenportals fehlt (Abb. 2), an seine Stelle wurde irgendwann in der Neuzeit eine einfache Tür mit geschrägten Rundbogenrahmen aus Stein eingefügt.⁴ Wegen der beträchtlichen, auffüllungsbedingten Hebung des Bodenniveaus ist der untere Teil des Portals nicht sichtbar. Das Gewände

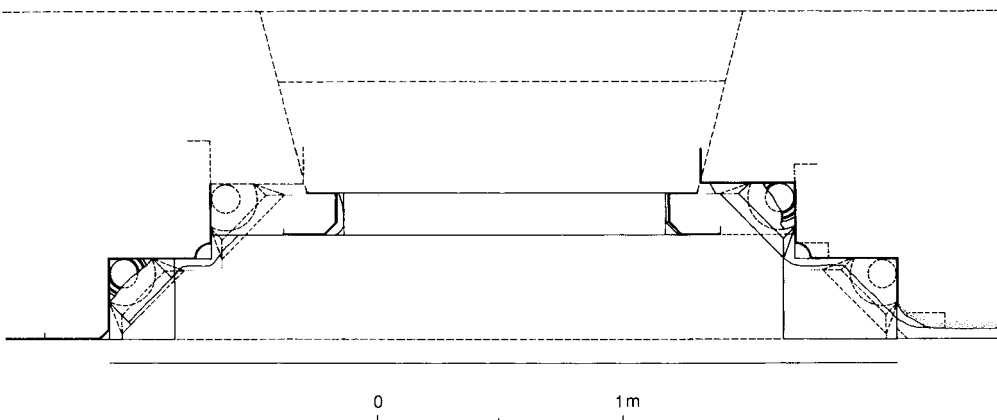


Abb. 3. Rekonstruierter Grundriss des Nordwestportals der Franziskanerkirche zu Pozsega
Zeichnung von Davorin Stepinac in Uzelac 1995. Abb. auf S. 9

ist jetzt einmal abgestuft, es lässt sich jedoch mindestens noch eine Gewändestufe vor dem Pfostenstein vermuten (Abb. 3). Die Stirnseite des Portals, sowie die Kante der äußeren Mauerecke sind grob abgeschlagen, aber wegen den an manchen Stellen sichtbaren glatten Oberflächen scheint es so, dass sie wahrscheinlich nicht vor die Mauerflucht traten. In den Mauerwinkel war einst ein Säulenpaar eingelegt. Die Säulenschäfte fehlen, die Kapitelle sind verwittert; auch jene Stellen, wo die Säulenschäfte auflagen und die Kämpfergesimse. In der unteren Zone des linken Kapitells sind die einfachen, länglichen, durch Adern gegliederten Blätter noch auszumachen. Die einzig erhaltene Portalarchivolte oberhalb der Säulen polygonal geformt. An der Kante des inneren Mauerprismas verläuft eine Kehle entlang des Rundbogens, die auch beim Kämpfer nicht unterbrochen wird. Der neuzeitliche Eingang ist höher angesetzt, als der mittelalterliche; bis zu seiner Errichtung fand bereits eine bedeutende Anhebung des Bodenniveaus statt. Auf dem Steinrahmen erscheinen rote, grundierte Farbspuren. Die im Kircheninneren, im östlicheren Joch der Empore zu sehende Nische mit Segmentbogen entstand wahrscheinlich, als diese Tür vermauert wurde.⁵ Auf den Steinelementen des frühen Portals sind rote und gelbe Farbspuren zu sehen. Auf den senkrecht zur Mauer verlaufenden Teilen befinden sich schwarze und rote Farbspuren, die wahrscheinlich Reste einer mit Schablone hergestellten Randverzierung sind.

Der mit Rippengewölben versehene Chor ist in seinem ursprünglichen Zustand aus dem 13. Jahrhundert erhalten geblieben (Abb. 4). Das kurze, auf rechteckigem Grundriss errichtete Chorquadrat verfügt über ein Kreuzgewölbe, das Chorthaupt hat eine dem Polygonalabschluss angepasste sechsteilige Gewölbe. Diese Gewölben liegen tiefer, als die jetzigen Barockgewölben des Kirchenschiffes. An die prismen-



Abb. 4. Chor der Franziskanerkirche zu Pozsega. Foto von Attila Mudrák, 2001

waren in den Ecken des Chores Dreiviertelsäulen angefügt, hinter denen Lisenen stehen. Zwischen den zwei Chorjochen kann man unten konsolenartig endende Dienstbündel aus drei Dreiviertelsäulen sehen, die kurze, aber stark hervortretende Schäfte haben. Hinter den Diensten sind auch hier Lisenen angebracht. Es kommt selten vor, dass auch hinter den äußeren Dreiviertelsäulen der dreifachen Dienstbündel Lisenen stehen: Diese Lösung lässt sich beim Triumphbogenpfeiler der oberen Etage der so genannten Gisela-Kapelle in Veszprém beobachten, sowie auf der Hauptschiffswand der Zisterzienserkirche von Landstrass in der Krain (Kostanjevica, heutiges Slowenien).⁶ In den Mauerwinkeln des Chorthauptes standen Dreiviertelsäulen, hinter welchen – den Mauerwinkeln entsprechend – gebrochene Lisenen an-

gebracht waren.⁷ Bei der Aufstellung des Altaraufbaus wurden die Schäfte der beiden östlichen Dienste (D4N-D4S) samt ihrer Sockeln abgemeißelt.⁸ Die Sockeln dieser Säulen und des D3N-D3S Dienstpaares kann man wegen jenes modernen gemauerten Sitzbankes nicht untersuchen, die vor den Mauern des Chorabschlusses stehen.

Auf der Nordseite des Chorhauptes, sowie auf dessen diagonalen Seiten und auf der Ostwand befinden sich rundbogige Fenster mit schrägen Fensterlaibungen. Die äußere Seite des östlichen und südöstlichen Fensters ist vermauert. Die Gliederung der Fenster entspricht jenen des Kirchenschiffes, sie liegen aber viel tiefer als diese. Auf der Nordwand des Chorquadrats öffnet sich ein Barockfenster mit Segmentbogen. Im Chorquadrat und auf der südlichen Seite des Abschlusses sieht man keine Spuren von mittelalterlichen Fenstern. Von den niedrigen, ungegliederten Strebepfeilern, die den Chor stützen, sind nur jene auf der nördlichen und nordöstlichen Ecke erhalten.

Die südlichen Ecken des Turmes sind mit dicken Strebepfeilern verstärkt. Der westliche, diagonale, ungegliederte Strebepfeiler scheint mit dem Turm gleichaltrig zu sein, der östliche ist eine spätere Verstärkung. Vom Klosterhof führt ein schmaler, spitzböiger Eingang in das Turmuntergeschoß, auf dessen Innenseite ein geschrägter Steinrahmen zu sehen ist. Das Erdgeschoß und die unteren Stockwerke sind mittelalterlich, während der obere Teil eine spätbarocke Aufstockung darstellt, die auf allen vier Seiten Glockenfenstern besitzt, sowie Uhrgesims und einen einfachen pyramidenförmigen Helm. In den ersten zwei Stockwerken befindet sich jeweils ein rechteckiges Schlitzfenster auf der südlichen und westlichen Seite. Das zweite Geschoss wird oben von einem Gurtgesims abgeschlossen, auf dem zwei kleine Schlitzfenster sitzen. Das nördliche ist rundbogig, das südliche ist ein Dreipassbogenfenster, dessen mittlerer Pass spitzbogig ist. Der Turm schneidet das letzte, östliche Fenster des Kirchenschiffes, sodass diese Öffnung während seiner Erbauung vermauert werden musste. Der Turm könnte wegen seines Portals und des Dreipassbogenfensters aus dem 14. Jahrhundert stammen.⁹

Die Kirche wurde mit einem holzbedeckten Schiff und mit einem niedrigeren, gewölbten, zweijochigen Chor erbaut. Das Schiff wird bis in die Neuzeit ungewölbt gewesen sein, da im Dachraum auf den Wänden nur innere Verputz- und Tünchungsschichten zu sehen sind, aber keine Spuren von älteren Wölbungen. Das hier behandelte Gebäude gehört zu den ersten Bettelordenskirchen in Ungarn, die einen polygonalen Chorabschluss haben. Ein ähnlich frühes Beispiel stellt die zu Ehren Mariens erbaute Minoritenkirche in Bistritz / Nösen (ung. Beszterce, heute Bistrița, Rumänien) dar, welche gleichfalls aus der Mitte des Jahrhunderts stammt (Abb. 1/C).¹⁰

Der polygonale Chorabschluss erscheint um die Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts in der mitteleuropäischen Bettelordensarchitektur. Das mir bekannte früheste Beispiel ist der Chor der Franziskuskirche im Prager Agneskloster, der zwischen 1238 und 1245 datiert werden kann (Abb. 5/A).¹¹ Diesem folgt – etwa gleichzeitig mit den beiden ungarischen Denkmälern – die Dominikanerkirche Hl. Kreuz in Iglau (Jihlava) in Mähren mit deren dreijochigem Chor, welche Anlage laut Ordensaufzeichnungen 1247 angesiedelt und 1261 geweiht worden war¹², und der Prior ihres Klosters 1257 urkundlich Erwähnung fand (Abb. 5/B).¹³ Weiters ist in diesem Kontext das zur frühen Bauphase gehörende, polygonal abgeschlossene Nebenkappenpaar der St. Nikolauskirche von Friesach in Kärnten zu erwähnen (nach dem Ankauf des Baugrundes im Jahre 1251) (Abb. 5/C).¹⁴

Der ursprüngliche Plan des Hauptchores in Friesach, wie auch die frühe Choranordnung der Minoritenkirche St. Ulrich von Stein in Niederösterreich (1253: urkundliche Erwähnung des Guardians Franciscus, 1264: Weihedatum)¹⁵ sind fraglich. Derzeit stehen an beiden Orten – wie auch bei der Dominikanerkirche von Krems – größere als ursprünglich geplante und etwas spätere Chöre in der Fortsetzung der Hauptschiffe, die aber noch aus dem 13. Jahrhundert stammen. Im Fall von Stein könnte vielleicht die Chorlösung der beiden nahesten Verwandten des Gebäudes, der Pfarrkirchen von Halmagen (ung. Halmágy, heute Hälmeag, Rumänien) in Südsiebenbürgen und von Písek in Böhmen auf einen Chorplan mit 5/8-Abschluss hinweisen.

Die weiteren Beispiele aus Ungarn sind schwierig zu beurteilen. Die Kirche der Franziskaner in Bács (heute Bač, Serbien) stammt aus den mittleren Jahrzehnten des Jahrhunderts, oder vielleicht von etwas früher. Neben der ungewöhnlichen Anordnung des Grundrisses wirkt besonders das gewölbte Kirchenschiff ungewöhnlich in der zeitgenössischen franziskanischen Baukunst.¹⁶ Deswegen ist jene franziskanische Überlieferung beachtenswert, die besagt, dass der Orden das Gebäude ganz am Anfang des 14. Jahrhunderts von den Tempelrittern übernommen haben soll.¹⁷ Die erste urkundliche Nachricht über die Franziskaner von Bács stammt aus 1316.¹⁸

Später, im letzten Drittel des Jahrhunderts verbreitete sich die polygonale Abschlussform (auch) in der ungarischen Bettelordensbaukunst in breitem Kreis und wurde dort zur ausschließlichen Chorlösung. Das in dieser Beziehung öfter erwähnte Beispiel aus dem Burgviertel von Buda, die nach dem Evangelisten Johannes benannte Franziskanerkirche ist ebenfalls problematisch. Die östliche Endung des Schiffes ist nicht erhalten, sodass man auf die Länge des Chors nur aufgrund des Grundrisses darüber errichteten barocken Kirche folgern kann, und zwar sehr unsicher. Auch das Alter des Chorabschlusses ist fraglich; es ist leicht vorstellbar, dass es Teil einer späteren Erweiterung ist. Die Ausgrabungen der Kirche sind nicht aufgearbeitet.¹⁹

Die am Anfang des vorigen Jahrhunderts völlig umgebaute Marienkirche der Franziskaner in Újlak (heute Ilok, Kroatien) lässt sich aufgrund von drei Kapitellen, die im Kroatischen Historischen Museum in Agram (Zágráb, Zagreb, Kroatien) aufbewahrt sind,²⁰ in das letzte Drittel des 13. Jahrhunderts datieren. Aufgrund einer überlieferten Angabe aus dem 18. Jahrhundert ließ sie Ugrin, Sohn des Pósa aus dem Geschlecht Csák (+1311) erbauen.²¹ Ihre Bauplastik wird von mehreren Halbsäulen-Schichtsteinen und dem Element einer Fensterlaibung zusätzlich bereichert, die vor dem städtischen Museum von Újlak herumliegen.²² Die nach Agram gelangten Kapiteln und die in der Stadt gebliebenen Schaftelemente gehören zusammen, der Säulendurchmesser beträgt in allen Fällen 30 cm. Alle drei Halbsäulenkapitelle befanden sich an einer Seitenwand, sodass das frühe Gebäude mindestens drei gewölbte Joche gehabt haben muss.²³ Die Erforscherin des Gebäudes folgert aufgrund den strahlenförmig stehenden äußeren Strebpfeiler, die in den Mauern der späteren Seitenkapellen erhalten geblieben sind, auf den frühen polygonalen Chorabschluss der Kirche, die einer anzunehmenden späteren Erweiterung vorausging. Ihre Annahme könnte durch eine Ausgrabung betätigt werden.²⁴ Die Reihe kann mit dem Kirchenchor der Franziskaner in Ödenburg (Sopron), Agram und Pressburg (Pozsony, heute Bratislava, Slowakei) und mit jenem der Dominikaner von Kaschau (Kassa, heute Košice, Slowakei) fortgesetzt werden.

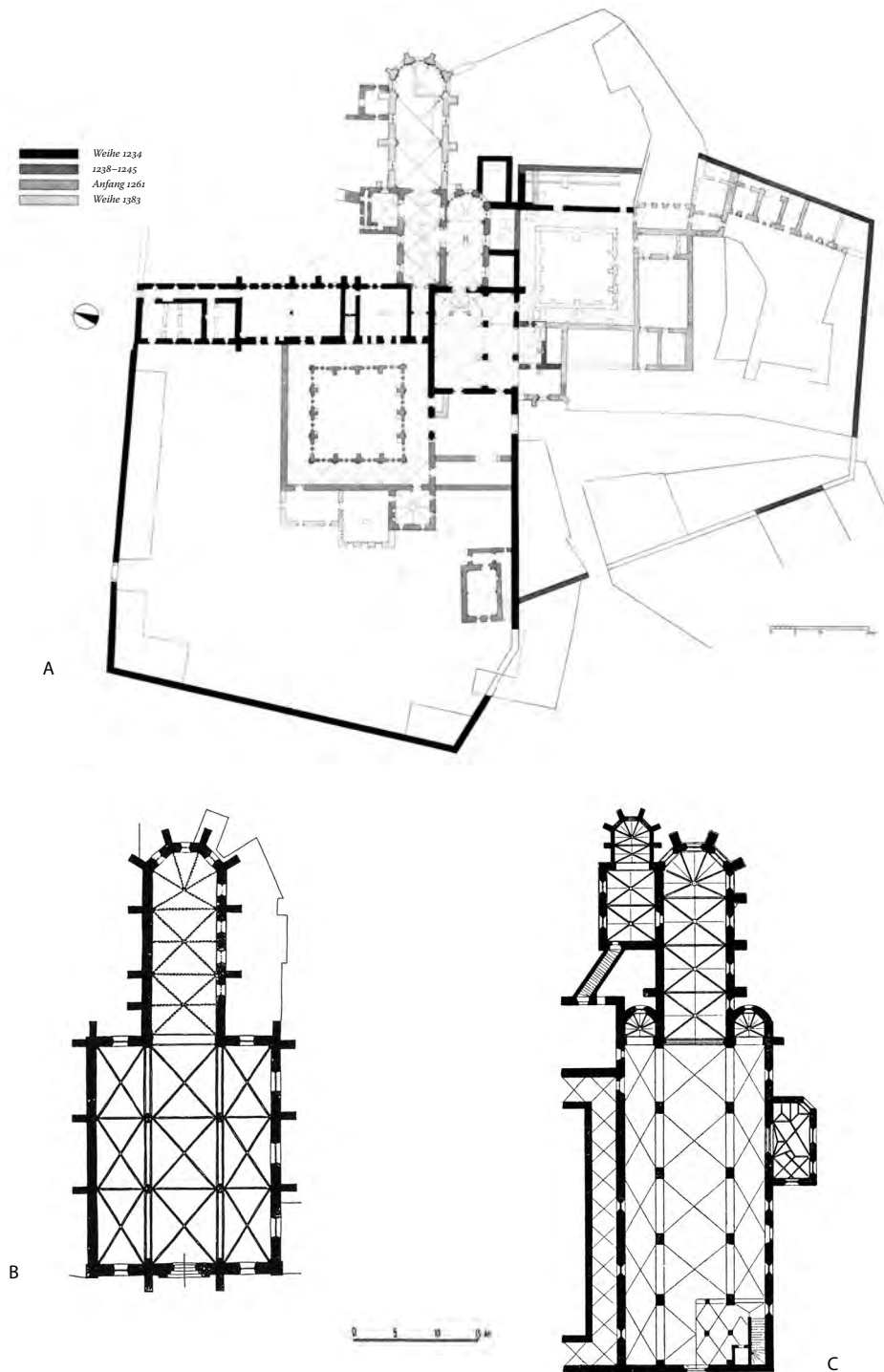


Abb. 5. A. Bualterplan des Prager Agnesklosters. Nach Soukupová, 1989, Abb. 2. B. Grundriss der Dominikanerkirche zu Iglau. Nach Kuthan, 1994, Abb. auf S. 164. C. Grundriss der Dominikanerkirche zu Friesach. Nach Donin, 1935, Abb. 29

Die konsolenartige Endung der Dienste zwischen den beiden Chorjochen in Pozsega kann man aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach mit den Chorgestühlen der Ordensbrüder erklären, die entlang der längsseitigen Mauern des Chores verliefen. Diese Sitzbänke waren in den franziskanischen Chören wahrscheinlich allgemein anzutreffen und bestimmten deren architektonische Gestaltung.²⁵ Auch der Dienst zwischen den zwei kreuzgewölbten Jochen im dreijochigen Chor der Franziskanerkirche von Bistritz und in der St. Franziskuskirche von Prag läuft nicht zum Bodenniveau herunter. An den Innenwänden des Chores der Pressburger Franziskaner und der Iglauer Dominikaner sind die Dienste konsolenartig angehalten, beim ersteren in der Höhe jenes Gesimses, der die Fortsetzung der Fensterbänke darstellt.²⁶

Die Kapitelle und Schlusssteine des Chores von Pozsega zeigen den Einfluss jener höfischen Kunst, die die Zeit des ungarischen Königs Béla IV. (1235–1270) bis in die 50-er Jahre charakterisierte. Andererseits kann der Stil eines kleineren Teils der Bauplastik auf die Zisterzienserkirche von Landstrass in der Krain zurückgeführt werden und er ist mit der ebenfalls von dort ableitbaren Westempore der Dominikanerinnenkirche der südsteirischen Studenitz (Studenice) auch verwandt, beziehungsweise mit einem Kapitell aus Pettau (Ptuj, heute beide in Slowenien).²⁷ Da die bereits erwähnte höfische Kunst der Zeit Bélas IV. – und allen Anzeichen nach auch Landstrass – in ein mitteleuropäisches System von Zusammenhängen hineinpasst und in einem engen Verhältnis zur zeitgenössischen Bautätigkeit der Přemysliden und der Babenberger steht, in erster Linie mit der von diesen Herrscherfamilien dotierten Klosterbaukunst, lohnt es sich die Vorbilder der Motive von Pozsega auch an den böhmisch-mährischen und niederösterreichischen Denkmälern vorzuzeigen.

Auf den Kapitellen der Franziskanerkirche kommen Halbpalmetten generell vor, welche einander den Rücken kehren und größtenteils zu zweit eine vollständige Palmette bilden. Manche Paare haben einen längeren Stiel, und sie entzweien sich am oberen Teil des Kapitelles horizontal (Abb. 11 und 13). Die Palmettenpaare können auch von ihnen entgegengesetzten Halbpalmetten begleitet werden (Abb. 6-7 und 12). Diese Ornamentik erinnert stark an den plastischen Schmuck der ersten Bauphase der Prämonstratenserkirche von Türje. Ihre Verwandten sind beim letzteren Bau an der Kapitellzone der nördlichen Langhauspfeiler²⁸ sowie auf jenen Konsolen anzutreffen, die sich unterhalb von Säulchen befinden, welche die Pfeiler flankieren.²⁹

Bei den Palmettenkapitellen beginnen die Palmettenstiele nicht beim Halsring, sondern es befinden sich zwischen ihnen gebogene Verbindungen. Diese fehlen an einer einzigen Stelle, beim Kapitell D1N, wo die breiten Palmettenstiele etwas über dem Halsring enden (Abb. 6). Die gebogenen Verbindungen sind in diesem Stilkreis vollkommen üblich; man kann sie zum Beispiel in der Liebfrauenkirche von Buda, in Türje, in Tischnowitz (Tišnov, Mähren), sowie auch im Prager Agneskloster finden. Auf den D2N und D2S Kapitellen kommen zu diesen bogigen Bindungen auch noch kleine, nach oben zeigende Fortsätze hinzu (Abb. 8-9). Diese Fortsätze sind bei den qualitätvolleren Bauplastiken die Rankenansätze der sich hinter den Blättern in die obere Zone ragenden Palmettenkompositionen. Die Stümpfe in Pozsega sind eigentlich solche missverstandenen Pflanzenstengeln. Noch dazu sind auf den D2N Kapitellen nicht nur diese entarteten Fortsätze erhalten, sondern auch die mit Halbpalmetten geschmückte Zone des oberen Teiles, nur dort gibt es zwischen den Palmetten und den



Abb. 6. D1N Kapitell in der Chor der
Franziskanerkirche zu Pozsega.
Foto von Attila Mudrák, 2001



Abb. 7. D1S Kapitell in der Chor der
Franziskanerkirche zu Pozsega.
Foto von Attila Mudrák, 2001



Abb. 8. D2N Kapitell in der Chor der
Franziskanerkirche zu Pozsega.
Foto von Attila Mudrák, 2001



Abb. 9. D2S Kapitell in der Chor der
Franziskanerkirche zu Pozsega.
Foto von Attila Mudrák, 2001

unteren Fortsätzen keine klare Beziehung. Einige Kapitelle der südlichen Pfeilerreihe der Wiener Michaelerkirche sind unmittelbar mit der reich untermeißelten, jedoch trotzdem unorganisch miteinander verbundenen Halbpalmetten der oberen Zone verwandt – und gleichzeitig auch mit den Kapitellkompositionen (Abb. 14).

Auf dem Kapitell D3N wendet sich die obere Lappe der sich aus je einer Halbpalmette formenden Palmette – welche eine mittlere Palmette umgibt – bogig nach unten, und das von dort entspringende Halbpalmettenpaar lässt eine weitere, mit Spitze nach unten gerichtete Palmette entstehen (Abb. 10). Das genaue Gegenstück dieser Palmetten mit zurückwendendem Mittelteil lässt im Chorquadrat von Türje das nordöstliche Säulchen konsolenartig anhalten;³⁰ ihre etwas weiter entfernten Verwandten kann man auf einem der erhaltenen Kapitelle aus der Sitznischenreihe des Hauptchores der Liebfrauenkirche von Buda sehen.³¹ Auf der qualitätvolleren Bauplastik aus Buda sind die Palmettenlappen länger; sie sind fingerartig geformt und es laufen reliefartige Adern in ihnen. Diesen Palmettentypus trifft man auf je einen Kapitell in der Kirche von Tisnowitz und in der Marienkapelle des Prager Agnesklosters an; er ist ebenfalls unter den Kapitellen des Kreuzganges vom Zisterzienserkloster in Welehrad (Welehrad, Mähren) anzutreffen, wie auch auf den Kapitellen des Westflügels im Dominikanerkloster von Brünn (Abb. 15-18). Das Motiv erscheint mit anders geformten Palmetten auch im Langhaus von Türje auf dem nördlichen Kapitell des Nordwestpfeilers, sowie auf dem nordöstlichen Wandpfeiler.³²

Verwandte der zwischen den aufragenden Palmetten des D4S Dienstkapitells untergebrachten niedrigeren Blätter (Abb. 13) lassen sich auf einem im Lapidarium des Museums von Veszprém lagernden und wahrscheinlich aus Gyulafrátót stammenden Kapitellfragment erkennen, wie auch auf den drei erhaltenen Kapitellen des von Westen gesehen vierten Nordpfeilers der Liebfrauen-Pfarrkirche von Buda.³³ Am unteren Teil der nördlichen Konsole der hier behandelten Franziskanerkirche zu Pozsega kann man asymmetrisch krümmende Blätter sehen, deren Verwandte man in Ungarn in Türje findet, und zwar auf dem Kapitell eines Säulchens, welche sich vom Chorquadrat her an den nördlichen Triumphbogenpfeiler anschließt, weiters in Zsámbék auf den südöstlichen Dienstbündelkapitellen der Empore,³⁴ sowie in Sopronhorpács auf einem vom Chorquadrat stammenden Kapitell.³⁵ Ihre Pendants lassen sich in Niederösterreich auch beobachten, zum Beispiel im Chor von Lilienfeld³⁶ oder auf dem einzigen geschmückten Kapitell der Fraterie von Heiligenkreuz³⁷ und ebendort im Kapitelsaal (auf einem Kapitell und Schlussstein). In Mähren erscheinen sie gleichfalls, in der Kirche von Tischnowitz und auf deren Westportal, sowie auf den Kapitellen des Kreuzganges von Welehrad.

Auf dem mittleren und rechten Kapitell des dreifachen Dienstes D2S wachsen drei dreilappige Blätter aus einem gemeinsamen Stamm heraus (Abb. 9). Dieses Motiv breitete sich in vielfachen Varianten innerhalb des Stilkreises aus, es lässt sich jedoch keine Komposition finden, die mit jenem von Pozsega genau identisch wäre. Die ungarischen Beispiele sind: Türje; Veszprém, die sogenannte Gisela-Kapelle; Gyulafrátót; Buda, Liebfrauenkirche; Zsámbék; Bistritz, Franziskanerkirche; Halmagen.³⁸ Solche Blätter begegnet man auch im Westflügel des Kreuzganges von Heiligenkreuz³⁹ und im Langhaus der Wiener Michaelerkirche, (Abb. 19.) sie sind aber ebenfalls auf dem Portal und auf den Konsolen des Kreuzganges von Tischnowitz, sowie auf einem Ka-



Abb. 10. D3N Kapitell in der Chor der Franziskanerkirche zu Pozsega.
Foto von Attila Mudrák, 2001



Abb. 11. D3S Kapitell in der Chor der Franziskanerkirche zu Pozsega.
Foto von Attila Mudrák, 2001



Abb. 12. D4N Kapitell in der Chor der Franziskanerkirche zu Pozsega.
Foto von Attila Mudrák, 2001



Abb. 13. D4S Kapitell in der Chor der Franziskanerkirche zu Pozsega.
Foto von Attila Mudrák, 2001



Abb. 14. Wien, Michaelerkirche. Kapitelle des von Westen gezählt zweiten Pfeilers von Südwesten. Foto: Bundesdenkmalamt, 2011

pitell der Kreuzganges im Brünner Dominikanerkloster präsent. Darüber hinaus auch im Prager Agneskloster, und zwar auf den Kapitellen des Klarissinenkreuzgangs, der St. Franziskuskirche und der Marienkapelle. Die Gestaltung der dreilappigen Blätter von Pozsega wirkt im Vergleich zu anderen Beispielen steif, plump und grob: Wenn man sie jenen Blättern gegenüberstellt, die im Prager Kloster oder in der Kirche von Gyulafirátót erscheinen, welche auf die Oberfläche des Kelches anhaften und in elegant geschwungenen Rankenkompositionen zusammengehalten sind, aber auch verglichen mit der reich untermeißelten Heiligenkreuzer Variante oder mit jenem Fragment der Liebfrauenkirche von Buda, auf dem die schwungvoll, untermeißelte Ornamentik vom ehemaligen Kapitell auf den Pfeiler überschlägt. Die Lappen sind geadert: Im Falle von Kleeblättern ist dies noch in Halmagen zu beobachten, dort aber auf andere Weise. Übrigens stellt diese südsiebenbürgische Kirche einen anderen Endpunkt der Verbreitung dieses Motivs dar; es ist anders vereinfacht und vielleicht in noch schwächerer Qualität ausgemeißelt.⁴⁰

Einige bauplastische Elemente des Chores sondern sich stilistisch mit ihrer flachen, sich ausdehnenden Ornamentik klar vom Rest ab. So auch der Schlussstein des Chorquadrats und die Konsolen der Dienstbündeln zwischen den beiden Chorjochen.⁴¹ Diese sind offenbar die Arbeiten eines Meisters. Auch bei den anderen Bauplastiken



Abb. 15. Kapitell aus der Zisterzienserkirche zu Tischnowitz. Foto von Tibor Rostás, 2002



Abb. 16. Prag, Agneskloster. Kapitell aus der Marienkapelle. Foto von Tibor Rostás, 2000



Abb. 17. Kapitell aus dem Kreuzgang der Zisterzienserabtei zu Welehrad.
Foto von Tibor Rostás, 2003



Abb. 18. Brunn, Dominikanerkloster. Kapitell aus dem Nordflügel des Kreuzganges.
Foto von Tibor Rostás, 2003



Abb. 19. Wien, Michaelerkirche. Kapitelle des von Westen gezählt zweiten Pfeilers von Südosten. Foto von Tibor Rostás, 2009



Abb. 20. Schlussstein des Chorraumpfes der Franziskanerkirche zu Pozsega.
Foto von Attila Mudrák, 2001

von Pozsega kann man bestimmte stilistische und qualitätsmäßige Unterschiede bemerken, die sich aber nicht klar genug ausmachen lassen, dass man weitere Hände unterscheiden könnte. Deshalb müssen wir auch davon absehen, die Anzahl jener Leute zu bestimmen, welche die ornamentalen Bauplastiken angefertigt hatten. Es steht jedoch soviel fest, dass das beste bauplastische Element der Kirche der Schlussstein des Chorraumpfes ist, mit seinen klaren Umrissen und seiner präzisen Komposition (Abb. 20). Die hier polygonal geformte Ranke dreht sich zweimal spiralartig um eine mittlere, achtlappige Rosette herum. Von der inneren Windung der Ranke zweigen acht Stiele

von Halbpalmetten ab, die unter der äußeren Windung hindurchschlüpfen und einen blättrigen Teil mit sich bringen, der sich auf letzteres stützt.

Die Rippen des Chores sind spitzbogig, den Spitzbogenstab begleitet von zwei Seiten Hohlkehle und Schräge. Ein solches Rippenprofil kennen wir aus dem Kreuzgang von Pilis, aus dem Burgpalast von Óbuda (dt. Altoven) und von einem Gewölbeanfänger in Veszprém. Zwischen den beiden Chorjochen ist der Gurtbogen etwas robuster, als die Rippen, er ist spitzbogig und abgeschrägt. Die spitzbogigen Schildbögen setzen vom Kämpfer an. Die Rippenanfänger sind vereinfachte Varianten von jenem Anfängertypus, der im Heiligenkreuzer Kreuzgang und Kapitelsaal oder im Hauptschiff und Chor von Türje zu sehen ist, ihre Gestaltung stimmt mit jenen Rippenanfängern überein, die in der oberen Etage der sogenannten Gisela-Kapelle in Veszprém zu finden sind, oder im Kreuzgang des Prager Agnesklosters, sowie im Chor der dortigen St. Franziskuskirche. Der Querschnitt der Deckplatte oberhalb der Kapitelle ist von unten nach oben als Hohlkehle, Schräge und Platte geformt. Das Profil lässt sich als eine vereinfachte und abgekantete Variante der mit Spornglied versehenen Deckplatten auffassen, wie auch der Rippenprofil als eine eckige Umformung der Rippen mit Spornglied. Im Ostteil der Lilienfelder Kirche ist die Deckplattenprofilierung mit Spornglied allgemein anzutreffen und die Deckplatte der erhaltenen Wanddienste im südlichen Querschiffarm in Gyulafrátót ist auch so gestaltet. Auf dem Triumphbogenpfeiler von Pozsega kommt ein Kämpfergesims nur auf der Stirnseite vor. Dieses setzt die Deckplatte oberhalb der Kapitelle fort und stimmt bezüglich ihrer Gliederung mit ihm überein.

In den Nordpfeiler der mittleren Arkade des östlichen Klosterflügels wurde eine Rippe aus dem 14. Jahrhundert eingemauert, welche vielleicht aus dem Vorgänger des Klosters stammen könnte.⁴² Aus der Kirche stammt auch ein Grabsteinfragment(?), mit dem Bruchstück einer mindestens drei Zeilen langen, gravierten und schwarz gemalten Majuskelschrift, die derzeit im Stadtmuseum von Pozsega aufbewahrt wird.⁴³ Der Stein ist auf allen Seiten gebrochen, er hat keinen intakten Rand.

Der Konvent der Minoriten in Pozsega wird 1276 zum ersten Mal erwähnt.⁴⁴ Demnach war Bruder Saul, der 1273 Guardian in Buda war, 1276 oder kurz davor nach Pozsega gezogen.⁴⁵ Unter Berücksichtigung der bereits früher dargelegten Chronologie der Stilverwandtschaft⁴⁶ kann man die Kirche in die 1240–50-er Jahre datieren. Die besitzgeschichtlichen Angaben der Burg von Pozsega erklären sowohl die auf den Stilbeziehungen ruhende Datierung, als auch die Verbindung der Kirche mit der höfischen Kunst. Ugrin, Erzbischof von Kalocsa erhielt die Burg von König Andreas II. (1205–1235) vor 1227 für Geld und als Tausch für das Gut Erdősomlyó, da sie als geeignete Basis für die Bekämpfung der bogomilischen Häresie schien, die vom benachbarten Bosnien auch auf das Gebiet südlich der Drau übergriff.⁴⁷ Es könnte auch sein, dass Ugrin im Kampf gegen die Bogomilen auch von den Franziskanern Gebrauch machen wollte, sodass bereits er den Orden in Pozsega ansiedeln ließ.⁴⁸ Darauf könnte das Patrozinium der Kirche hinweisen: Sie ist einem Soldatenheiligen (Demetrius) geweiht. Aus den Quellen wird aber eindeutig klar, dass sich der Erzbischof im Kampf gegen die Bogomilen auf die Missionierungstätigkeit der Dominikaner stützte.⁴⁹ (Es ist urkundlich bezeugt, dass die Bautätigkeit Ugrins im Becken von Pozsega darauf zurückzuführen war, in die Abtei von Gotó (heute Kutjevo, Kroatien) siedelte er 1232

Zisterziensermönche aus Zirc.)⁵⁰ Der Erzbischof starb in der Schlacht von Muhi gegen die Tataren, sodass die Burg nach dem Mongolensturm von 1241/1242 an den König zurückfiel, der diese zuerst seinem Verwandten, Herzog Kaloján gab, dann in den fünfziger Jahren Königin Maria,⁵¹ und sie blieb bis zum Ende des Jahrhunderts ein Gut der Königinnen. Die erste Angabe darüber, dass das Komitat Pozsega im Besitz der Königin war, stammt aus dem Jahre 1258.⁵² Auch Elisabeth, die Frau von Ladislaus IV. (1272–1290) hielt sie inne, und gab hier am 13. Jänner 1283 eine Urkunde heraus; Herzogin Thomasina, die Mutter von Andreas III. (1290–1301) hielt sogar ihren Hof in der Burg Pozsega, alle drei ihrer Urkunden, die auch den Ausstellungsort enthalten, wurden hier ausgestellt.⁵³ Aufgrund obiger Tatsachen kann man darauf schließen, dass die Franziskanerkirche, die ein im Süden gelegenes Denkmal der vom Hofe Bélas IV. ausstrahlenden Kunst repräsentiert, höchstwahrscheinlich nach dem Mongoleneinfall errichtet worden sein muss, ihr Auftraggeber wird entweder der König, Herzog Kaloján oder die Königin gewesen sein.

Anmerkungen

- 1 Die Quellen geben nicht nur das Patrozinium an, sondern berichten auch über den Brand der Kirche. In einer Urkunde von 1305 heißt es: „(...) quod per combustionem monasterii beati Demetrii martyris ecclesie videlicet fratrum Minorum de Posegaur in sacristia ipsius ecclesie omnes litere ipsorum essent combuste (...)” T. Smičiklas, collegit et digessit, *Codex Diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae* II–XV (Zagrabiae, 1904–1934), VIII, Urkunde 97, 107; und Pál Engel, *Pozsegavármegye (Komitat Pozsega)*, Manuskript im Historischen Institut der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 26. In einer anderen Urkunde aus 1305: „(...) apud fratres minores in villa Posogaur ad claustrum sancti Demetrii martiris degentes in sacristario eorundem per ipsos recondita extitissent, que quidem priuilegia per cremationem seu combustionem dicte ecclesie sancti Demetrii combusta, annullata fuissent et cremata, cuius ecclesie combustio cunctis cernentibus liquide claret et apparet, (...)” Smičiklas (zit. oben) VIII, Urkunde 100, 111–112; und Engel (zit. oben) S. 26. In einer anderen Urkunde aus 1306: „ut quia per combustionem ecclesie beati Demetrii martyris, fratrum minorum de Posagawar”, *Alsó-Szlavóniai Okmánytár (Dubicza, Orbász és Szana vármegyék) 1244–1710*. (Unter-Slawonische Urkundensammlung (Komitate Dubicza, Orbász und Szana) 1244–1710.) Red. Lajos Thallóczy und Sándor Horváth (*Monumenta Hungariae Historica Diplomataria XXXVI.*), Budapest, 1912, Urkunde 20, 27–28. Schließlich im Jahre 1317: „(...) per concremacionem ecclesie et sacristie fratrum Minorum de villa Pasagaur (...)” Smičiklas (zit. oben) VIII, Urkunde 376, 458; Engel (zit. oben) S. 26. Vgl. noch: Ivica Degmedžić, „Požega i okolica. Studije o razvoju naselja,” in *Požega 1227–1977*, Urednik: Marijan Strbašić (Slavonska Požega, 1977), 108.
- 2 Die Türken wandelten die Kirche in eine Moschee um, und ließen das Kloster abreißen. Die restlichen Katholiken von Pozsega bauten sich 1573 eine Holzkirche, deren Hl. Geist Patrozinium sie nach der Rückeroberung auf die Franziskanerkirche übertrugen, die in der ersten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhundert auch die Aufgaben einer Pfarrkirche erfüllte. Da die Franziskaner auch zur Zeit der osmanischen Besetzung im Becken von Pozsega blieben (das nahegelegene Kloster Velika war in

- ihrem Besitz) und im Großteil des Beckens von Pozsega auch die Pfarrerrfunktion ausübten, hatten sie wahrscheinlich ihre ehemalige Kirche in Pozsega in Evidenz gehalten, und nach der Rückeroberung des Gebietes siedelten sie sich höchstwahrscheinlich hier wieder an. Vgl.: Ive Mažuran, "Požega i Požeška kotlina za turske vladavine," in *Požega 1227–1977* (zit. Anm. 1.), 185–186; Igor Karaman, "Požega i Požeška kotlina od oslobođenja ispod turske vlasti do 1848. god," in ebd., 205.
- 3 Die Vorstellung des Gebäudes: Zorislav Horvat und Ivan Mirnik, "Graditeljstvo srednjeg vijeka u Požeškoj kotlini," in *Požega 1227–1977* (zit. Anm. 1.), 138–142; Diana Vukičević-Samaržija, *Sakralna gotička arhitektura u Slavoniji* (Zagreb, 1986), 125–126; Ders., "Mittelalterliche Kirchen der Bettelorden in Kroatien," in *Koldulórendi építészet a középkori Magyarországon. Tanulmányok (Architektur der Bettelorden im mittelalterlichen Ungarn. Studien)*, Hrsg. Andrea Haris (Budapest, 1994), 65–66; Ildikó Kutnyánszky, "A koldulórendek és építészetük az Árpád-kori Magyarországon" (Bettelordenskirchen und ihre Architektur im árpádenzeitlichen Ungarn), in *Tanulmányok Tóth Sándor 60. születésnapjára (Studien für Sándor Tóth zum 60. Geburtstag)*, (Budapest, 2000, 2. korrigierte und erweiterte Ausgabe), 112–113.
 - 4 Das Portal wurde von Dubravka Sokač-Štimac, Zlatko Uzelac und Davorin Stepinac im Herbst 1995 freigelegt. Über die Resultate der Portalerforschung siehe Zlatko Uzelac, "Sjeverni portal crkve Sv. Dimitrija (Sv. Duha) u Požegi," *Radovi Instituta za Povijest Umjetnosti* 19 (1995): 10–15, und Anm. 11. Laut Autor war es zur Umgestaltung des Portals zur Zeit der osmanischen Besetzung gekommen, als die Kirche in eine Moschee umgewandelt wurde (ebd. 7, 10–11). Nach der Freilegung wurde das Gehniveau entsprechend des aufgefüllten Zustandes wiederhergestellt und anschließend niederbetoniert.
 - 5 Laut Uzelac ließen die zurückkehrenden Franziskaner das türkenzeitliche Portal am Anfang des 18. Jahrhunderts zumauern, wobei sie die Portalnische beließen, sodass die noch erhaltenen Teile sichtbar blieben (ebd. S. 10, 12).
 - 6 Tibor Rostás, "A veszprémi úgynevezett Gizella-kápolna épülete a 13. században" Die sogenannte Gisela-Kapelle von Veszprém im 13. Jahrhundert, in *Tóth Sándor Tanulmányok*, 2000 (zit. Anm. 3.), 62. Die zur Zeit der Romanik weit verbreitete Lösung verschwindet im Fall der gotischen Dienstbündeln, oder beschränkt sich lediglich auf die mittlere Dreiviertelsäule. Der stark hervortretende Wanddienst in Pozsega mit ihrer stufenartigen Gliederung macht einen ausgesprochen altertümlichen Eindruck. (Vgl.: Legnica in der nächsten Fußnote.)
 - 7 Das Motiv der hinter Dreiviertelsäulen befindlichen und den Mauerwinkeln entsprechend gebrochenen Lisenen taucht in der frühgotischen Architektur Mitteleuropas ebenfalls häufig auf. Diese Lisenen kann man zum Beispiel bei den Diensten der Kirche von Csázma (Čazma), der Kapelle von Medvevár (Medvedgrad, heute beide in Kroatien) oder der St. Georgskapelle von Veszprém vorfinden – siehe: Rostás, 2010. (zit. Anm. *), 239–240, 255, 264–265. –, aber sie kommen auch im Turmuntergeschoß von Felsőörs vor (hier ist die Abstammung von der Veszprémer Kapelle nachweisbar: Sándor Tóth, "XIII. századi építőműhely Veszprémben. A Bakonyi Múzeum kőtárának ismertetése III." [Eine Bauhütte aus dem 13. Jahrhundert in Veszprém. Vorstellung des Lapidariums vom Bakony-Museum III], *A Veszprém megyei múzeumok közleményei* 6 (1967): 174.), oder in der Zisterzienserkirche von Bélapát-

falva (ebd. 176; András Gergelyffy, „Bélapátfalva, a volt ciszterci apátsági templom” [Bélapátfalva, die ehemalige Zisterzienser Abteikirche], in *Magyarország műemléki topográfiája. Heves megye műemlékei I.*, Red. Dezső Dercsényi und Pál Voit, (Budapest, 1969), 533, und Abb. 530.), sowohl in den östlichen und südwestlichen Mauerwinkeln der Nebenschiffe, wie in den Ecken der Abschlusswände des Querschiffes. Das Motiv kann man auch in der *Prämonstratenserkirche von Ócsa*, in den Mauerwinkeln des Querschiffes beobachten („Ócsa, ref. templom” [Ócsa, reformierte Kirche], in *Magyarország műemléki topográfiája. Pest megye műemlékei I. (Topographie der Denkmale in Ungarn. Denkmale in Komitat Pest I.)* Red. Dezső Dercsényi, (Budapest, 1958), Abb. 540), bei der aus der *Kathedrale von Kalocsa* bekannten Basis, die in eine rechtwinkelige Mauerecke passt, und bei Kapitellen, welche vielleicht ebenfalls aus den Mauerwinkeln des Querschiffes stammen (Géza Entz, „Les pierres sculptées de la cathédrale de Kalocsa,” *Bulletin du Musée Hongrois des Beaux-Arts* 28 (1966): 36, 38, 46, 136–137, 140–141, Kat. Nr. 3–5. und 8, Abb. 22–24. und 28) und in *Esztergom*, auf jener neuerlich gefundenen Sockel, die ins Chorhaupt der *Stephan-Protomartyr-Kapelle* lokalisiert werden kann (Fund von István Horváth aus 1984, hier publiziert: Tibor Rostás, „Zwei gotische Pfeilerformen in Mitteleuropa,” *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege* 62 (2008): 544–545, Abb. 637). Die Form erscheint in Zweitverwendung an den äußeren Mauerecken des barocken Chors der *Kirche von Dozmat*. Nach Meinung des Forschers hatten diese Dienste einst das Äußere der abgetragenen breiten Apsis der Kirche geschmückt, aber man könnte so den Bruch der Lisenen nur schwer erklären. (Pál Lövei, „Bevezetés” [Einleitung]; György Székér, „Dozmat, római katolikus templom” [Dozmat, römisch-katholische Kirche], *Lapidarium Hungaricum 5. Vas megye műemlékeinek töredékei 1. Belsővat – Kőszegszerdahely (Lapidarium Hungaricum 5. Fragmente der Denkmale des Komitats Vas 1. Belsővat-Kőszegszerdahely)*, Red. Pál Lövei, (Budapest, 2002), 19, 32, 244, Kat. Nr. 56.3–16, 56.18–26, 56.28–32; Abb. 209–211.)

Diese Art der Lösung ist im Querschiff und zwar in beiden Mauerwinkeln der nördlichen Abschlussmauer der *Wiener Michaelerkirche* präsent, sowie im südwestlichen Mauerwinkel des Kreuzganges der Zisterzienserabtei von *Zwettl* und in den Mauerwinkeln der außen rundbogigen, innen polygonalen Seitenkapellen der *Dominikanerkirche von Friesach* in Kärnten (Richard Kurt Donin, *Die Bettelordenskirchen in Österreich. Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der österreichischen Gotik*, (Baden bei Wien, 1935), 105, und Abb. 139, 141, 153; Tóth, 1967 (zit. oben), 177), in der bereits erwähnten *Zisterzienserkirche von Landstrass* entspricht alles, auf den vom barocken Umbau befreiten Stellen, zum Beispiel in den Mauerwinkeln des Querschiffes und der Nebenschiffe und in der schlesischen *Pfarrkirche von Goldberg* (Złotoryja) in den Mauerwinkeln des Chorquadrates und des nördlichen Querschiffsarms (Zygmunt Świechowski, *Architektura na Śląsku do połowy XIII. wieku* (Warszawa, 1955), Abb. 565–566). Im Chorhaupt der *Zisterzienser Abteikirche von Lilienfeld* verdeckt der barocke Hochaltarbau die Wandgliederung. Von dem im Stiftsarchiv von Herzogenburg erhaltenen Altarentwurf kann man jedoch ablesen, dass hier auf den Innenseiten der den Winkeln entsprechend gebrochenen Pfeilern dreifache Dienstbündeln angebracht waren, und hinter den mittleren, dickeren Diensten der Bündeldienste erscheinen auch die gebrochenen Lisenen. (Ul-

rike Seeger, *Zisterzienser und Gotikrezeption. Die Bautätigkeit des Babenbergers Leopold VI. in Lilienfeld und Klosterneuburg* (München – Berlin, 1997), 42–43, und Abb. 20; Kurt Bleicher, “Studien zur Baugeschichte der Stiftskirche von Lilienfeld,” in *Zisterzienserstift Lilienfeld* (Lilienfeld, 2002): 116–117 und, Abb. 115.) Die Form erscheint auch in den Mauerwinkeln des zweijochigen Chorquadrats der ehemaligen *Zisterzienserkirche von Oslawan* (Oslavany) in Mähren.

In der zwölfeckigen *Burgkapelle von Liegnitz* (Legnica) in Schlesien sind die Wandpfeiler der Seitenwände hinter der mittleren Dreiviertelsäule ebenfalls gebrochen. Wohlgeachtet, es befinden sich hier nicht nur hinter dem mittleren Dienst Lisenen – wie in Lilienfeld – sondern auch hinter den äußeren. (vgl. vorherige Amn.). Weiters ist auch die äußere und innere Seite jener keilförmigen Pfeiler gebrochen, welche den sechseckigen Mittelteil der Kapelle umgeben, so, dass diese Bruchstellen die Spitzen des Sechsecks bestimmen, sowohl in Richtung des Chorumgangs, als auch in Richtung des engen Mittelteils (Jerzy Rozpędowski, “Zamek romański w Legnicy,” *Szkice legnickie* 6 (1971): Abb. 22).

- 8 Zur Zeit der Bauforschung der Kirche wurde der Altar, welcher der Ankunft des Hl. Geistes geweiht war, abgetragen und bei der Wiederherstellung hatte man nur das rundbogige, spätbarocke Altarbild wieder aufgestellt. Eine über den ursprünglichen Zustand des klassizistischen Altarbaus erstellte Fotoaufnahme aus dem Jahre 1975: Horvat – Mirnik, 1977 (zit. Anm. 3.), Abb. 55.
- 9 Aufgrund von ebd. S. 140–141, und Abb. 64/D ist der Turm gleichaltrig mit der Kirche; weiters halten es die Autoren für wahrscheinlich, dass die Anlage ursprünglich über ein Ostturmpaar verfügt hatte, und das Pendant des Glockenturmes einst auf der nordöstlichen Ecke des Schiffes stand. Diese Vermutungen entbehren jegliche Grundlage.
- 10 Tibor Rostás, “Die einstige Minoriten-, heute griechisch-katholische Kirche von Beszterce,” in *Mitteleuropa - Kunst - Regionen - Beziehungen 3 / Umenie - Regióny - Vzťahy Stredná Európa* 3., ed. Štefan Oriško (Bratislava, 1998) (im weiteren Rostás 1998/A), 41; Ders., “A besztercei volt minorita, ma görög katolikus templom” (Die einstige Minoriten-, heute griechisch-katholische Kirche in Bistritz / Nösen), *Műemlékvédelmi Szemle* 8 (1998) Nr. 2. (im weiteren: Rostás 1998/B): 66. Diese Beispiele – und auch seine eigene frühere Arbeit zum Thema – vergessend, erkannte Marosi die ersten Bauten mit Polygonalabschluss im letzten Drittel des 13. Jahrhunderts: Ernő Marosi, “A koldulórendi építészet Magyarországon” (Die Bettelordensarchitektur in Ungarn), in *Koldulórendi*, 1994 (zit. Anm. 3.), 47–49. Seine Vorstellung zog dann noch weitere Kreise: Júlia Altmann und Pál Lövei, “Leletgyűttesek a budavári ferences templomból” (Fundensembles aus der Franziskanerkirche in der Burg von Buda), *Budapest Régiségei* 38 (2004): 12.
- 11 Helena Soukupová, *Anežský klášter v Praze* (Praha, 1989), 82–83. mit Anm. 90–91; 107. mit Anm. 101–102; 113. mit Anm. 112–114, und Abb. 2.
- 12 Klára Benešová, “Kat. Nr. 2.050.” in *Architecture of the Gothic* (Prague, 2001), 126.
- 13 Jiří Kuthan, *Česká architektura v době posledních Přemyslovců. Města - hrady - kláštery - kostely* (Vimperk, 1994), 154.

- 14 Donin, 1935 (zit. Anm. 7.), 97; Barbara Schedl, "Kat. Nr. 218." in *Geschichte der bildenden Kunst in Österreich 2. Gotik*. hgg. von Günter Brucher (Wien – München – London – New York, 2000), 218.
- 15 Donin, 1935 (zit. Anm. 7.), 115; Christine Chini, "Studien zur ehemaligen Minoritenkirche von Stein an der Donau," *Jahrbuch für Landeskunde von Niederösterreich* N.F. 65 (1999), urkundliche Angaben: 61, 67–68, stilkritische Datierung in die fünfziger Jahre: 119.
- 16 An das Schiff ist ein damit identisch breiter Chor samt gleicher Innenhöhe angeschlossen, deren Kubatur einst jedoch erheblich niedriger war, und über einen Grundriss mit 5/10-Abschluss verfügt. Das Kirchenschiff ist dreijochig und hat einen beinahe quadratischen Grundriss. Die Kirche ist schwer datierbar, und dieses wird nicht erleichtert von der Tatsache, dass die wenigen bekannten Details aus Stein schmucklos sind. Die Säulen, welche die Ecken des Chorabschlusses von außen gliedern, enden ohne Kapitelle, ihre Sockeln sind – abgesehen vom kleinen Rest eines dieser – vernichtet. Die Dienste im Inneren sind entweder unter dem barocken Mantel verborgen, oder sie wurden abgemeißelt. Die Fenster sind rundbogig, das Gesims des Chorraumes ist ein von kleinen Konsolen getragener Spitzbogenfries; aus dem erheblich höher gelegenen Sägezahnfries-Gesims des Kirchenschiffes ist lediglich ein kleiner Teil in der nordöstlichen Ecke erhalten geblieben. Die Detailformen werden von einander ohne Schlussstein überschneidenden, und ohne begleitende Gliederung versehenen diagonalen Rippen mit Spitzbogenstab ergänzt, sowie vom Triumphbogen mit Eckwulst und von spitzbogigen, abgestuften Gurten. Die Rippen des Chorraumes laufen dem Bogenscheitel des Triumphbogens zu.
- 17 *Protocolum conventus Bacsensis F. F. Min. Obs. Provinciae S. Joannis a Capistrano ab ao. 1718*. I. S. 5 und 20. (Manuskript in der Bibliothek des Klosters von Bács); Gregorius Csevapovich, *Synoptico memorialis Catalogus observantis minorum provinciae S. Joannis a Capistrano olim Bosnae Argentinae ...* (Buda, 1823), 85. Zitiert in: Alice Horváth, "Adatok Bács ferences templomának és kolostorának építéstörténetéhez" (Angaben zur Baugeschichte der Kirche und des Klosters der Franziskaner in Bács), in *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 31 (1982): 174, und Anm. 7, 20; Paškal Cvekan, *Franjevci u Baču* (Virovitica, 1985), 44–46. Den franziskanischen Ursprung des Gebäudes wird hier ebenfalls in Frage gestellt: Ernő Marosi, "Franziskanische Architektur in Ungarn," in *800. Jahre Franz von Assisi. Franziskanische Kunst und Kultur des Mittelalters* (Wien, 1982), 463–464. Die Präsenz der Templer in Bács wird von urkundlichen Angaben jedoch nicht bezeugt. Vgl.: György Györffy, *Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza I.* (Historische Geographie des arpadenzeitlichen Ungarns I.), (Budapest, 1963), 210–213; und László Koszta, "Dél-Magyarország egyházi topográfiája a középkorban" (Kirchliche Topographie Südungarns im Mittelalter) in *A középkori Dél-Alföld és Szer (Das Südtiefland und Szer im Mittelalter)*, Red. Tibor Kollár (Szeged, 2000), Über die Ritterorden: 62.
- 18 János Karácsonyi, *Szt. Ferencz rendjének története Magyarországon 1711-ig* (Die Geschichte vom Orden des Hl. Franziskus in Ungarn bis 1711) I, (Budapest, 1923), 33, 144; Györffy, 1963 (zit. Anm. 17.), 213; Ildikó Kutnyánszky, *Koldulórendi építészet*

- az Árpád-kori Magyarországon* (Die Architektur der Bettelorden im árpádenzeitlichen Ungarn), Diplomarbeit, 1998, Manuskript am Institut für Kunstgeschichte an der Geisteswissenschaftlichen Fakultät der Eötvös Loránd Universität Budapest [ELTE]. Teil II, Dokumentation, 85–86.
- 19 Aus dem wenigen publizierten Material wird weder über die Schichten, noch über die Niveauverhältnisse oder über den Zusammenhang der Mauerreste etwas klar, auch über die Bauperioden des Gebäudes erfährt man nichts. Júlia Altmann, “Előzetes jelentés a budavári ferences templom kutatásáról” (Vorläufiger Bericht über die Erforschung der Franziskanerkirche in der Burg von Buda), *Archaeológiai Értesítő* 100 (1973): 82–87; Dies., “Az óbudai és a budavári ferences templom és kolostor kutatásai” (Forschungen über Kirche und Kloster der Franziskaner in Óbuda und in der Burg von Buda), in *Koldulórendi*, 1994 (zit. Anm. 3.), 143–147; Altmann und Lővei, 2004 (zit. Anm. 10.), 11–13. Publizierung der Bauplastik ebd.: 13–19, und Abb. 7–36.
 - 20 Mirko Valentić und Lada Prister, *Zbirka kamenih spomenika*, (Zagreb, 2002, 2. dopunjeno izdanje), 68–69. Kat. Nr. 127–129; Diana Vukičević-Samaržija, “A középkori Újlak és műemlékei” (Das mittelalterliche Ilok und seine Baudenkmäler), in *Dél-Alföld*, 2000 (zit. Anm. 17.), 488, und Abb. 21–24. (auf der oberen Fläche der Kapitelle gibt es kein eingeritztes Rippenprofil, nur Konstruktionslinien!)
 - 21 Mladen Barbarić, *Povjest crkve Iločke*, (Osijek, [1918]), 6; Vukičević-Samaržija, 2000 (zit. Anm. 20.), 483. und Anm. 31. (In der Kirche kommt der Löwenwappen von Ugrin aus dem Geschlecht Csák nicht vor! Was der Autor dafür hält, ist die Verzierung eines Schlusssteins mit dem Datum 1468, auf dem Drachen und Löwen abgebildet sind. Vgl. ebd. Abb. 16.)
 - 22 Gergely Buzás, “Az újlaki Városi Múzeum középkori kőfaragványai” (Die mittelalterliche Bauplastik im Stadtmuseum von Ilok), in *Dél-Alföld*, 2000 (zit. Anm. 17.), 501, und Abb. 1–4.
 - 23 Barbarić [1918] (zit. Anm. 20.), 11, 17, und, Abb. 9, 13, 23. Anhand des Textes ist es mir nicht klar, wo die drei Kapitelle aus dem 13. Jahrhundert innerhalb der Kirche waren.
 - 24 Vukičević-Samaržija, 1986 (zit. Anm. 3.), 107. und Anm. 162; Vukičević-Samaržija, 1994 (zit. Anm. 3.), 66. und Anm. 7; Vukičević-Samaržija, 2000 (zit. Anm. 20.), 486, und Abb. 19. Grundlage der Annahme ist jenes strahlenförmig ausgerichtete Strebepfeilerpaar, das man im Zuge des Umbaus von 1907 gefunden hatte, welches der entwerfende Architekt, Hermann Bollé auf dem Grundriss der Kirche darstellte, wo er übrigens eine Rundbogenapsis rekonstruierte. Den Grundriss von Bollé veröffentlichte und auch vom Fund als Augenzeuge der Bautätigkeit berichtete: Barbarić [1918] (zit. Anm. 20.), 13, und Abb. 3.
 - 25 Im Gegensatz zu den Zisterzienserkirchen, wo der Hauptchor kürzer ist, und auch die Dienste vom Bodenniveau beginnen, weil das Chorquadrat und der Ostteil des Kirchenschiffes breiten Raum für die Aufstellung der Chorbänke bot.
 - 26 *Az örökség hagyományozása. Könyöki József műemlékfeltérési 1869–1890* (Die Tradierung des Erbes. Die Denkmalvermessungen von József Könyöki 1869–1890), zusammengestellt von Jolán Váliné Pogány, Red. Andrea Haris und István Bardoly (Budapest, 2000), Abb. 132.3/A-B.

- 27 Mija Oter Gorenčič, *Deformis formositas ac formosa deformitas. Samostanska stavbna plastika 12. in 13. stoletja v Sloveniji* (Ljubljana, 2009), 131–132, 264, und Abb. 137–141; Tibor Rostás, „Landstrass 13. századi templomai és magyarországi kapcsolataik. Stíluskritikai analízis” (Die Kirchen von Landstrass aus dem 13. Jahrhundert und ihre ungarischen Verbindungen. Stilkritische Analyse), in *Omnis creatura significans. Tanulmányok Prokopp Mária 70. születésnapjára. Essays in Honour of Mária Prokopp*, ed. Anna Tüskés (Budapest: CentrArt, 2009), 68–70, Abb. 13–14; Ders., „Die Kirchen von Landstrass aus dem 13. Jahrhundert und ihre ungarischen Verbindungen. Stilkritische Analyse,” *Ungarn Jahrbuch* 30 (2009–2010): 7–12, Abb. 14–23.
- 28 Tibor Rostás, „Udvári művészet Magyarországon a 13. század második negyedében és közepén, avagy a Gizella-kápolna hazai kapcsolattrendszere” (Höfische Kunst in Ungarn im zweiten Viertel und in der Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts, oder das ungarische Beziehungssystem der Gisela-Kapelle von Veszprém), *Műemlékvédelmi Szemle* 10 (2000) Nr. 1–2: 27.
- 29 Auf den Konsolen unter den Säulchen scheint entweder eine Reihe von stehenden Halbpalmetten auf, die in eine Richtung geordnet sind (vgl.: ebd. 26–27) oder einander entgegengesetzte Halbpalmettenpaare (auf der östlichen Konsole des Nordwestpfeilers und auf jener Konsole des Nordostpfeilers, die sich auf der Seite des Hauptschiffes befindet).
- 30 Ernő Marosi, *Die Anfänge der Gotik in Ungarn* (Budapest, 1984), Taf. XXIV/2, und Abb. 373. Die Bestimmung letzteren Fotos ist falsch; Tibor Rostás, „Eine kleine „Drakologie“. Ornamentik der Tišnover Porta Coeli und Ungarn,” *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege* 60 (2006): 360, Abb. 422.
- 31 József Csemegi, *A budavári főtemplom* (Die Hauptpfarrkirche in der Burg von Buda), (Budapest, 1955), 40, Anm. I/112, 65–66, Abb. 74. (Historisches Museum Budapest [BTM] Inv. Nr.: 163.); Rostás, 2000 (zit. Anm. 28.), 18; Rostás, 2006 (zit. Anm. 30.), 358, Abb. 419.
- 32 In Lébény finden wir auch am unten zitierten Kapitell des südwestlichen Langhauspfeilers Palmetten mit zurückwendendem Mittelteil. Sándor Tóth, „A gyulafehérvári fejedelmi kapu jelentősége” (Die Bedeutung des Fürstenportals von Gyulafehérvár), *Építés- Építészettudomány* 15 (1983): 419. Diese haben aber einen anderen Charakter, sie stehen in keiner echten Beziehung zu den oben erwähnten.

Das Motiv war auch früher nicht unbekannt in Ungarn, ihre Beispiele sind von den zweiten Hälfte des 12. Jahrhunderts und um 1200 aus Pécs, vom Portal in Jásd, vom Fragment eines Nischenbogens von Szermonostor (heute Ópusztaszer), von einem Fragment aus Madocsa, vom Doppelportal des Wohnturmes von Esztergom, vom Rosenfenster der dortigen Burgkapelle und von einem Fragment aus dem Lapidarium bekannt, sowie vom Hauptportal von St. Pantaleon in Halytsch (Halych, heute Westukraine) und vom Fürstenportal der Kathedrale von Karlsburg (Gyulafehérvár, heute Alba Iulia, Rumänien). Siehe: Sylvia K. Palágyi und Sándor Tóth, *A római és középkori kőtár katalógusa. Tihanyi múzeum* (Katalog des römischen und mittelalterlichen Lapidariums. Museum Tihany), (Veszprém, 1976), Kat. Nr. 42, Zeichnung 3/B; Marosi, 1984 (zit. Anm. 30.), 49–50, 57, 97–99, 137, Kat. Nr. 41, Taf. XVIII. und Abb. 110–113, 115; Tóth, 1983 (zit. oben), 396, 401, und Abb. 3, 6; Sándor Tóth, „Kat. Nr. I–62.,” in *Pannonia Regia. Művészet a Dunántúlon 1000-*

1541 (Pannonia Regia. Kunst in Transdanubien 1000–1541), Red. Árpád Mikó und Imre Takács (Budapest, 1994), 122; Sándor Tóth, “A 11–12. századi Magyarország Benedek-rendi templomainak maradványai” (Reste der Benediktinerkirchen vom Ungarn des 11–12. Jahrhunderts), in *Paradisum Plantavit. Bencés monostorok a középkori Magyarországon* (*Paradisum Plantavit. Benediktinerklöster im mittelalterlichen Ungarn*), Red. Imre Takács (Pannonhalma, 2001), 251; Sándor Tóth, “Kat. Nr. V-31, V-38.” in *Paradisum Plantavit*, 2001, 431–433, 436.

Der Palmettentypus erschien in Ungarn bereits im 11. Jahrhundert. Man kann sie am Kämpfer von Szekszárd beobachten, weiters auf einem Kämpferfragment von Zselicszentjakab, auf dem Friesfragment von Bodrogmonostorszeg und auf zwei Kämpfern aus Dombó. Bei diesen frühen Beispielen wird jedoch der sich zurückwendende Teil unabhängiger behandelt, sie fügt sich nicht ins Körper der Palmette, sondern befindet sich oberhalb davon, auf solche Weise, dass ihn ein dünner Ranken damit verbindet. Eine ähnliche Gestaltung können wir übrigens auch in Türje, auf dem östlichen Kapitell des Nordostpfeilers sehen (vgl.: Marosi, 1984 (zit. Anm. 30.), Taf. XXIV/3, mit falscher Bestimmung). Über die Beziehung der Bauplastik des 11. Jahrhunderts schrieb Sándor Tóth mehrmals: “A 11. századi magyarországi kőornamentika időrendjéhez” (Über die Chronologie der Steinornamentik des 11. Jahrhunderts in Ungarn), in *Pannonia Regia*, 1994 (zit. oben), 55, 56. und ebd. Kat. Nr. I-3; *Paradisum Plantavit*, 2001 (zit. oben), 240, 251. und ebd. Kat. Nr. V-2.

Abschließend sollten wir unsere Sammlung mit zwei Beispielen aus Italien ergänzen: Auf die in Bari aufbewahrte Exultet-Rolle wurden als Rahmenmotiv in kreisförmige Felder eingefasste, stilisierte Palmetten mit zurückwendenden Mittelteil gemalt (vgl.: Florentine Mutherich, “Malerei,” in Louis Grodecki, Florentine Mutherich, Jean Taralon und Francis Wormald, *Die Zeit der Ottonen und Salier*, Universum der Kunst (München, 1973), 211–225, und Abb. 214–215. [ich danke Sándor Tóth für das Beispiel] und auch jenes gravierte Muster besteht aus Palmetten mit zurückwendendem Mittelteil, das den Heiligenschein der Hauptfigur auf der Hl. Franziskus Vita-Retabel ausfüllt, welche in der Kirche S. Francesco von Pisa zu sehen ist (vgl.: Hans Belting, *Bild und Kult. Eine Geschichte des Bildes vor dem Zeitalter der Kunst* [München, 1990], Abb. 230). Das Motiv ist byzantinischer Herkunft, auch im Falle der Beispiele aus Italien müssen wir wohl mit byzantinischer Vermittlung rechnen.

33 Csemegi, 1955 (zit. Anm. 31.), 42, 65, Anm. I/118, Abb. 71, 73 (BTM Inv. Nr. 186) sowie Abb. 87. (BTM Inv. Nr. 142); Rostás, 2000 (zit. Anm. 28.), 17–19; Rostás, 2006 (zit. Anm. 30.), 357–358.

34 Rostás, 2000 (zit. Anm. 28.), 11, und Abb. 7; Rostás, 2006 (zit. Anm. 30.), 355, Abb. 408, 359, Abb. 424.

35 Gábor Bazsó, *Sopronhorpács, plébániatemplom* (Sopronhorpács, Pfarrkirche), in *Lapidarium Hungaricum 3. Győr-Moson-Sopron megye I.* (Budapest, 1995), 35, 113; LaHu Kat. Nr. 335.263, und Abb. 223, 225.

Aufgrund der rekonstruierbaren Raumorganisation und der erhaltenen Details zeigt der Chorquadrat von Sopronhorpács auch andere Zusammenhänge mit dem hier untersuchten Stilkreis. Die Kreuzgewölbe des zweijochigen Chorquadrates stützten sich im Osten auf polygonale Wanddienste, an den übrigen Stellen auf kurze Wanddienste mit Halbachtel-Grundriss. Das östliche Dienstpaar ist

dreiseitig, ihre Hauptansicht steht in Richtung Rippe; die kurzen Dienste werden wohl konsolenartig angehalten gewesen sein, die Konsolen sind uns jedoch nicht bekannt. (Ebd. auf Abb. 152–153, auf der Rekonstruktion von János Sedlmayr ist die Hypothese des Entwerfers eine Konsolenform, die jener von Kerz [Kerc, rom. Cârța] in Siebenbürgen ähnlich ist.) Die im Lapidarium erhaltenen Gewölbeanfänger, Rippen- und Schildbogenstücke zeigen, dass der Gurt mit den Diagonalrippen übereinstimmend war, welche an der Ecke mit Hohlkehlen versehen sind. Ferner begannen die Hohlkehlen der Gurten, Rippen, und Schildbögen – letztere zeigen die Hälfte des Rippenprofils – ab dem Kämpfer gemeinsam und trennten sich nur weiter oben. (Vgl.: ebd. 30–31, 35, 39, 44, 120–121; Konstruktionskat.: 335/3, und Abb. 109, 111–112, 152–153, 215–229.) Das Chorquadrat mit der ehemaligen hufeisenförmigen Apsis und wahrscheinlich mit dem östlichen, achteckigen Pfeiler und den halbachteckigen Wandpfeiler wurden am Ende der Bautätigkeit des zweiten Viertels des 13. Jahrhunderts, vermutlich in den 40-er Jahren oder am Anfang der 50-er Jahre erbaut (ebd. S. 43, 120).

Die kurzschäftigen, konsolenartig endenden Dienste tauchen an den Seitenmauern von Kreuzgängen auf, aber ihr einziger kurzer Schichtstein ist sowohl in Tischnowitz, als auch in Heiligenkreuz und Lilienfeld zylinderförmig. Ein in Konsole endender Wanddienst mit polygonalem Grundriss – der aber erheblich länger ist, als jene, die in Sopronhorpács anzunehmen ist – kann aus dem Stilkreis von Kerz zitiert werden: In der Franziskanerkirche von Bistritz erscheint er zwischen den beiden, auf rechteckigem Grundriss angelegten Jochen des Chores – Rostás, 1998/A (zit. Anm. 10.), 41–42; Rostás, 1998/B (zit. Anm. 10.), 65. In Bistritz bleibt das Kapitell jedoch weg, den Wanddienst schließt unmittelbar oberhalb des Schaftes ein Kämpfergesims mit Hohlkehle-Platte Profil ab. Bei einem Konsolenkapitelltypus im Klarissinnenkreuzgang des Prager Doppelkloster bleibt dagegen der Schaft weg, unmittelbar oberhalb der unteren kleinen Konsole beginnt das Kapitell mit einem Grundriss, der fünf Seiten eines Achtecks zeigt und dann die Deckplatte. (Soukupová, 1989 (zit. Anm. 11.), Abb. 95.) Die engste Beziehung der in Sopronhorpács vorfindbaren Dienstform verbindet sie mit der Marienkapelle des Prager Klosters, und auch die Raumstruktur des Chorquadrates kann am ehesten damit in Verwandtschaft gebracht werden. Im Innenraum der auf quadratförmigen Grundriss angelegten, aus drei Jochen bestehenden und mit Kreuzgewölben versehenen Prager Kapelle stehen in den Mauerwinkeln Dreiviertelsäulen – dies ist also ein Unterschied zu Sopronhorpács – aber zwischen den einzelnen Jochen zeigen die konsolenartig angehaltenen Dienste halbe Achtecke, samt ihrer Kapitele. Die spitzbogigen Gurte der Kapelle entsprechen den Rippen, die ebenfalls spitzbogigen Schildbögen zeigen die Hälfte des Rippenprofils. Die mit hohlkehligem Ecken versehenen Rippen des Gewölbes werden seitlich mit einer kleinen Schräge gegliedert, die Hohlkehlen der benachbarten Rippen beginnen gemeinsam (ebd. Abb. 68–71, 92–93). Jene Variante des hohlkehligem Rippenprofils ohne Schräge, welche auch in Sopronhorpács angewandt wurde, kommt auf dem sechsteiligen Gewölbe der Küche vor. (ebd. Abb. 119.) In der Abschlussperiode der westungarischen Kirche waren also jene Einflüsse vorherrschend, die von der mitteleuropäischen höfischen Kunst kamen, insbesondere von jener Periode des Agnesklosters, die man zwischen 1238 und 1245 datiert.

- Aber auch die frühere Stilorientierung verschwand nicht spurlos: Dieses zeigen jene Fensterrahmen an der ehemaligen Apsis, deren Hohlkehlen mit Kugelreihen geschmückt sind (Bazsó, 1995 (zit. oben), 26, 33, 43, und Abb. 55–60, 260–265).
- 36 Erich Bachmann, *Eine spätstaufische Baugruppe im mittelböhmischen Raum* (Brünn – Leipzig, 1940), Abb. 25; Bleicher, 2002 (zit. Anm. 7.), 110, und Abb. 99; Rostás, 2006 (zit. Anm. 30.), 359, und Abb. 423.
 - 37 *Die Denkmale des Stiftes Heiligenkreuz*, Österreichische Kunsttopographie XIX. Bearb. Dagobert Frey (Wien, 1926), 149, und Abb. 88; Markus Thome, *Kirche und Klosteranlage der Zisterzienserabtei Heiligenkreuz. Die Bauteile des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts* (Petersberg, 2007), 176, und Abb. 211, 212. Zwischen den zylinderförmigen Pfeilern und den breiten Bandrippen der Fraterie hatte man auf eigenartige Weise als Übergang eine auf ihren Kopf gestellte Rippenanfänger-Form angewandt. Unter dem ungewöhnlichen Motiv erscheint auf mehreren Pfeilern auch ein Halsglied, und verstärkt dadurch die Rolle der Form als Kapitell.
 - 38 Rostás, 2000 (zit. Anm. 28.), 11, 28–29; Rostás, 2006 (zit. Anm. 30.), 354, und Abb. 407, 361–362, und Abb. 410, 426.
 - 39 Frey, 1926 (zit. Anm. 37), Abb. 57; Thome, 2007 (zit. Anm. 37), 138, und Abb. 123; Über die auch hier behandelten Stilzusammenhänge, siehe: 158–159.
 - 40 Vgl.: Tibor Gerevich, *Magyarország románkori emlékei* (Ungarns Denkmale aus der Romanik), (Budapest, 1938), Taf. CLX; Tibor Rostás, “A halmágyi evangélikus templom” (Die evangelische Kirche von Halmegén), in *Középkori egyházi építészet Erdélyben / Architectura religioasă medievală din Transilvania / Medieval ecclesiastical architecture in Transylvania* II. Red. Adrian Andrei Rusu und Péter Levente Szócs, (Satu Mare, 2002), 97–98. und Abb. 6.
 - 41 Dies sind jene Fragmente, die sich aus Landstrass ableiten lassen. Vgl.: Anm. 27.
 - 42 Im Zuge der Renovierung des Klosters wurde von der Fassade der Hofseite des Ostflügels der Verputz abgeschlagen, sodass im Sommer 2001 im Ziegelmauerwerk auch sonstige eingebaute Steinelemente zu beobachten waren – ohne interpretierbaren Details jedoch.
 - 43 Inv. Nr. 2533. (Frühere Inv. Nr. 646.) Geschenk des Franziskanerguardians Fra Andeo Novak vom 1. Dez. 1931.
 - 44 Laut einer nicht nachvollziehbaren Angabe aus der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts, erscheint unter anderem auch Pozsega in jenem Verzeichnis der Ordensprovinz, das für das Generalkapitel von Narbonne 1260 erstellt worden war (schematismus narbonensis). Siehe: *Brevis Memoria Provinciae Capistranae* (Buda, 1857), 8. Die Quelle selbst, die Liste der Ordensprovinz erscheint natürlich nicht unter den veröffentlichten Beschlüssen des Generalkapitels von Narbonne (*Statuta generalia ordinis edita in capitulis generalibus celebratis Narbonae an. 1260 Assisi an. 1279 atque Parisiis an. 1292*. [editio critica et synoptica] Continuabitur: Michael Bihl, P. OFM. Archivum Franciscanum Historicum XXXIV. [1941], 13–94; 284–358), und nach unseren Kenntnissen stammt das erste Verzeichnis, welche auch die einzelnen Klöster nennt, lediglich aus 1316. So ist der Quellenwert des franziskanischen Geschichtswerks von 1857 nur gering. Diese Angabe der Arbeit wurde in Vukičević-Samaržija, 1994 (zit. Anm. 3), Anm. 4. zitiert, und von dort zog sie weitere Kreise: Kutnyánszky, 1998 (zit. Anm. 18.), 159, 164.

- 45 In den Heiligsprechungsprotokollen der Hl. Margarethe sprach darüber der in Buda lebende Péter Tapolcsányi: „(...) et frater Saulus, qui erat tunc quardianus, qui modo est in Posega (...)” in *Monumenta Romana Episcopatus Vesprimiensis* I. (Budapestini, 1896), 293; Karácsonyi, 1923 (zit. Anm. 18.), I, 1923, 228.
- 46 Über die Datierung der erwähnten ungarischen Denkmäler siehe: Rostás, 2000 (zit. Anm. 28.), 35–37; Rostás, 2006 (zit. Anm. 30.), 362–366.
- 47 Georgius Fejér, *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis* III/II (Buda, 1829), 100; Nicolaus Pfeiffer, *Die ungarische Dominikanerordensprovinz von ihrer Gründung 1221 bis zur Tatarenverwüstung 1241–1242* (Zürich, 1913), 60; Degmedžić, 1977 (zit. Anm. 1.), 104; *Korai Magyar Történeti Lexikon* (9–14. század) (Historisches Lexikon für die frühe Geschichte Ungarns, 9–14. Jh.), Chefred Gyula Kristó, (Budapest, 1994), Pozsega – 1. Schlagwort (István Feld und László Koszta) 552–553; und Ugrin – 1. Schlagwort (László Koszta) 696–697; Attila Zsoldos, *Az Árpádok és asszonyaik. A királynéi intézmény az Árpádok korában* (Die Árpáden und ihre Frauen. Die Institution der Königinnen zur Zeit der Árpáden) (Budapest, 2005), 157–158.
- 48 Uzelac, 1995 (zit. Anm. 4.), 7–8, 16.
- 49 Géza Kanyó, “Kálmán herczeg 1208–1241. Második, befejező közlemény” (Herzog Koloman 1208–1241. Zweite, abschließende Mitteilung), *Katholikus Szemle* 9 (1895): 429–436; Gyula Pauler, *A magyar nemzet története az Árpádházi királyok alatt II.* (Die Geschichte der ungarischen Nation unter den Königen aus dem Árpádenhaus II.) (Budapest, 1899), 118, 136–137; Pfeiffer, 1913 (zit. Anm. 47.), 60–74.
- 50 F. L. Hervay, *Repertorium historicum Ordinis Cisterciensis in Hungaria* (Romae, 1984), 101–103; Uzelac, 1995 (zit. Anm. 4.), 7–8, 16. Zur Zeit der Erforschung der Jesuitenkirche von Gotó (1989–1993) hatte man festgestellt, dass diese anstelle der Zisterzienserkirche erbaut worden war, und bestimmte Details davon bewahrt hatte. Der polygonale Chor der Zisterzienserkirche wurde damals freigelegt. (siehe ebd. Anm. 7.)
- Die von Uzelac zwischen den Zisterzienserkirchen von Pozsega und Zirc, sowie Gotó aufgestellten Stilbeziehungen sind nicht haltbar. Weder die Kirche von Pozsega, noch ihr Portal haben eine nachweisbare stilistische Beziehung zu Zirc, und auch der polygonale Chorabschluss ergibt (vorläufig) keinerlei Zusammenhang zu Gotó; keinesfalls einen solchen, der jene Annahme fundieren würde, dass Pozsega von den Zisterziensern von Gotó erbaut worden war. (Vgl. ebd. S. 7–8, 12, 14, 16.)
- 51 Zsoldos, 2005 (zit. Anm. 47.), 157–159; *Korai Magyar Történeti Lexikon*, 1994 (zit. Anm. 47.), Pozsega – 1. Schlagwort (Feld István und László Koszta) 552–553; Gyula Kristó, *A feudális széttagolódás Magyarországon* (Die feudale Zergliederung in Ungarn) (Budapest, 1979), 29.
- 52 Gusztáv Wenzel, *Árpádokori új okmánytár I–XI. (Neue Urkundensammlung der Árpádenzeit I–XI.)* (Pest, 1860 – Budapest, 1873), XI, Urkunde 311, 445–446; Smičiklas (zit. Anm. 1.) V, Urkunde 601, 84–85; Degmedžić, 1977 (zit. Anm. 1.), 105–106; Attila Zsoldos, “A királyné udvara az Árpád-korban” (Der Hof der Königin in der Árpádenzeit), *Századok* 136 (2002), 277–278, und Anm. 106; Zsoldos, 2005 (zit. Anm. 47.), 57, 80, 94–95, 152.
- 53 Degmedžić, 1977 (zit. Anm. 1.), 109; Kristó, 1979 (zit. Anm. 51.), 29, 31–32; Zsoldos, 2002 (zit. Anm. 52.), 273; Zsoldos, 2005 (zit. Anm. 47.), 90–91, 172–173.

Painted Chancels in Parish Churches – Aristocratic Patronage in Hungary during the Reign of King Sigismund (1387–1437)*

Zsombor Jékely

Looking at any map of medieval Europe, the Kingdom of Hungary appears as a large country, roughly the size of France, located in the middle of Europe. Bordered by Poland to the North, the Holy Roman Empire (more specifically Moravia, Lower Austria and Styria) to the West, Venice and the Adriatic to the Southwest, Serbia and Walachia to the South, and Moldavia to the East, Hungary was at the peak of its power during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and its borders were often extended to include further territories occupied for a longer or shorter period. The kings of Hungary ruled over a vast area – comprising also Dalmatia, Croatia and other territories in the Balkans – with abundant resources, including the richest gold and silver mines in Europe. Their country was a regional superpower, worth competing for among Europe's great dynasties, such as the (Neapolitan) Anjou, Luxemburg, Jagiellonian or Habsburg families.¹

King Sigismund of Luxemburg ascended the throne of this kingdom as a young man in 1387. It took him almost two decades to fully stabilise his power. After his election as King of the Romans in 1410, Buda essentially became the capital of the Holy Roman Empire for decades, even if Sigismund was often away from Hungary. This is where foreign dignitaries and rulers, including the Byzantine emperor (in 1424) or the king of Denmark came to see the emperor. Artists in the court of Sigismund, such as the sculptors of the Buda castle statues, the painter Thomas of Coloswar or miniature painters and goldsmiths in his service were well versed in the advances of the art of Northern European royal courts, such as Paris, Dijon, Vienna or Prague. Even though only fragments of this court art survive due to immense destruction at later stages, the level of artistic achievement at the royal court can still be grasped today.²

* This paper was originally presented at the following conference: *Imaging Dogma, Picturing Belief – Late-Medieval Mural Painting in Parish Churches across Europe*. London, The Courtauld Institute of Art, November 6-7, 2009. The event was organised by Federico Botana, whom I would like to thank for inviting me to the conference. Portions of this text are based on my PhD dissertation, which will not be cited in the text, but can be consulted for the questions in discussion: *Art and Patronage in Medieval Hungary – The Frescoes of the Augustinian Church at Siklós I–II*. (PhD dissertation: Yale University, New Haven, 2003, available from UMI Dissertation Information Service).

During the long rule of Sigismund, political power was concentrated in the hands of a handful of aristocratic families, loyal to the king and consequently holders of large estates. Given their political power, international connections and extended estates, it is surprising how little we know of the art patronage of the aristocracy. The problem has never been systematically explored.³ Nevertheless, it seems that the two main aspects of aristocratic patronage were the building of castles to represent their power, and the building of churches and chapels to ensure their salvation. Consequently, most artworks associated with aristocratic families are works of the monumental arts – buildings, stone carvings, wall paintings – and we know very little of other kinds of artworks. It can be said that the horizon of the aristocracy broadened considerably in this period, especially at the time of the Council of Constance (1414–1418), where a great entourage of the Hungarian nobility accompanied Sigismund.⁴ Artistic trends of the international Gothic thus surely must have had an impact on Hungarian aristocrats as well. To give one example: the series of armorial letters given by King Sigismund to his faithful followers were often painted by masters from leading manuscript workshops, especially during the time of the Council of Constance.⁵

Back at home, the aristocrats concentrated their patronage at the centre of their estates, located in various parts of the Kingdom. Castles and palaces were rebuilt and modernised in a great number of places.⁶ At the same time, the barons also felt the need to support the local churches next to their castles, some of which were entrusted to monastic and mendicant orders, but almost all of which also fulfilled parochial functions. While the castles expressed the worldly power of their owners and builders, the churches standing next to them were meant to ensure the salvation of their patrons, and to preserve their memory. Thus perhaps the most characteristic building unit of the period is the castle and the church standing next to it. The best examples of this arrangement are known from the realm of the aristocracy, but it was the royal court which provided the models for this arrangement. King Sigismund founded the royal priory of St. Sigismund next to the royal castle of Buda, the construction of which was carried out from 1410 to 1424.⁷ Similarly, he invited the Observant Franciscans, and settled them next to the royal palace of Visegrád. In 1425, the friars received the former royal chapel dedicated to St. George, but the king later erected a new church for them, dedicated to the Virgin.⁸

The churches under aristocratic patronage could take many forms both institutionally and architecturally. In terms of their function, these family churches take over the role of the earlier clan monasteries. Clan monasteries, private foundations of the twelfth-thirteenth centuries, were meant to serve as burial places for an entire clan at one time, before the clans were broken up into different families. The monasteries were generally Benedictine, later often Premonstratensian, and one of their main functions was to preserve the founders' memory and to provide a place for family worship.⁹ The most important such private foundations were established at the beginning of the thirteenth century, and their churches were generally built with two western towers and with rich figural and ornamental decoration. These structures served as a tool for representing the ancient origins and privileges of noble clans. In addition, the visual representations of their founders often appear in their sculpted and painted decoration (for example in the frescoes of Ják).¹⁰ The monasteries were supported even in

the later Middle Ages jointly by the families who descended from the clan. However, the churches, often located far from the new centres of aristocratic families, did not fulfill the needs of the powerful barons. After the breakup of the clans, these extended family relations became nominal only, and the institution of private churches was also renewed into patronage rights during the ecclesiastical reforms. Thus the family churches of around 1400 were usually founded by only one family, although with the participation of several generations. A rich and powerful family often established several of these churches, while also retaining the right of patronage to most other churches located in their estates. The most important role, however, was afforded to those churches located at the centers of estates, and serving as burial churches for the families and also fulfilling the needs of the local parish. In these cases one of the conditions of donations and support was the saying of masses for the souls of the deceased. The churches in the country estates thus started functioning just like private chapels – while at the same time private chapels founded by aristocrats also appeared attached to the most central churches of the kingdom, at Esztergom, Székesfehérvár and at Buda.¹¹ The families expressed their rights to these churches with their coats of arms, and the churches in effect became the private chapels of the founding families, representing the unity of the family.¹² Although the function of most family churches was similar, in other respects they greatly differ from each other: there were newly founded monasteries and long-existing parish churches among them, and in terms of architecture, some are refurbished Romanesque structures, while others are built according to the latest fashion of the period. A family church greatly increased the prestige of a family, especially if the burial rights were also acquired.¹³ The value of such a church could also be expressed in monetary terms, as recorded in several detailed lists.¹⁴ It is no wonder then that most noble families attempted to appear as patrons of at least a modest church, and some had several such institutions at their disposal. From a practical point of view, it was also important that the churches could fulfill the role of the local parish church as well. This favoured the spread of new monastic orders which also fulfilled parochial functions, and thus at the centre of the estates we find more and more churches operated by the mendicant orders. Especially popular was the Hungarian Pauline order and the Observant Franciscans – both served as the centre of local religious life as well.¹⁵

In the present paper, I would like to focus on a very characteristic element of the decoration of these churches: the full-scale decoration of their chancels with frescoes.¹⁶ Due to recent discoveries, the available material in this field has greatly expanded over the last few decades. For this analysis, I have selected churches that were under the patronage of an important aristocratic family, and where the entire chancel was painted according to a carefully designed plan. Often, this decoration only appeared inside the sanctuary, and there is no trace of corresponding painted cycles in the naves of most of these churches today. The chronological boundaries of the works to be discussed are roughly from the beginning of Sigismund's rule (1387) to about 1420. Although some of the churches were operated by religious orders, they all served as parish churches as well and most also served as burial churches. The following churches are included in the analysis: from western Hungary, Bántornya, where the Bánfi family commissioned the workshop of Johannes Aquila to paint the chancel in 1383; and two churches of



Fig. 1.: Bántornya, parish church. Apostles on the north wall of the sanctuary. Workshop of Johannes Aquila, 1383. Photo: Zsombor Jékely

the powerful Lackfi family: the Pauline church near Csáktornya and the Franciscan church of Keszthely. The Augustinian church of Siklós, located next to the castle of the Garai family, also preserves a fresco cycle in the sanctuary. From Northern Hungary, the newly discovered frescoes of Torna were selected; while Almakerék is a monument from the Eastern part of the country, from Transylvania. A few brief sentences will suffice to characterise the arrangements of the painted programs of individual churches.

Perhaps the earliest in the group to be discussed is the church of Bántornya, in Southwest Hungary (today Turnišče, Slovenia) (fig. 1). It was the family church of the Bánfi of Alsólendva family, and at least one of the family members was buried in front of the altar in the chancel, as indicated by a fragmentary tomb slab carved of red marble.¹⁷ The church was painted in the 1380s for László Bánfi I, who was represented together with his family praying in front of the Virgin.¹⁸ The chancel and the triumphal arch are adorned to this day with the Bánfi coats of arms and beautiful frescoes. Bántornya was painted by the workshop of Johannes Aquila, painter from Radkersburg in Styria, whose works are known from two other Hungarian churches, Velemér and Mártonhely, as well as from the Augustinian hermits' church at Fürstenfeld. At Bántornya, his workshop was employed twice: the chancel was painted in 1383, and the nave in 1389.¹⁹ This chancel is the nave of the former church of Bántornya: leaving the Romanesque apse and its frescoes intact, the old nave was transformed into a large chancel, when a Gothic nave was added on the western side. The newly formed sanctuary was then vaulted, creating a two-bay structure of rectangular plan. The chancel's paintings cover those from around 1300. On the two bays of the vault, the four Evangelists and four

music-playing angels are depicted. These were probably meant to be seen together with the *Maestas Domini* of c. 1300 in the conch of the original apse. The walls show scenes from the infancy of Christ and large-scale standing figures of the twelve apostles. The decoration was completed with a dedication picture of the Bánfi family, which unfortunately got damaged beyond repair in 1928. This was the only example in Hungary of the Paduan-type of kneeling donors in front of the Madonna, presented by their patron saints (St. Ladislav and St. Nicholas). Complementing the chancel, a great number of different hagiographic and eschatological themes cover the walls of the nave, to a large degree determined by the needs, desires and knowledge of the patron family.

Not far away, the frescoes of Csáktornya are a fairly recent discovery, and their great significance lies in the fact that with their help we can directly compare two commissions of the same aristocratic family, the Lackfi.²⁰ The Pauline church near Csáktornya (today Čakovec, Croatia), in the village of Szentilona (today Šenkovec, Croatia) was founded by István Lackfi and other members of the family in 1376. István Lackfi became the Palatine of Hungary in 1387, and was one of the main supporters of Sigismund until 1396, when he changed allegiance. This led to his downfall, and he was executed in 1397.²¹ The painted decoration had certainly been completed before this date. Today only the chancel stands, with frescoes on all of its walls, although the vault was unfortunately reconstructed in the Baroque period, destroying all the fres-



Fig. 2.: Szentilona near Csáktornya, former Pauline church. Assumption of the Virgin and Man of Sorrow on the north and northeast wall of the sanctuary. 1380s. Photo: Attila Mudrák

coes there. We are probably not far from the truth if we suppose that – perhaps among other things – representations of the *Maestas Domini* and the four Evangelists were present here as well. On the walls there are large scenes of highly original iconography, topped with half-figure representations of the *Madonna lactans* and the figures of the Trinity (fig. 2). The larger scenes are the following, listed from the Northwest corner going round: Crucifixion, Ascension and Coronation of the Virgin by the Trinity, a monumental image of the Man of Sorrows, saints in the windows, Presentation in the temple and other scenes. The cycle was executed by a workshop affiliated with Central European followers of Vitale da Bologna.²²

Contemporary with Csáktornya, and also commissioned by István Lackfi are the frescoes of the Franciscan church of Keszthely. It is likely that the friary was founded before he received the estate at around 1376, but later served as the executed Palatine's burial church. This is a much larger building than the one at Csáktornya, and one which was also located closer to the centre of the kingdom. As the king confiscated the family's estates, including Keszthely in 1397, it is certain that preparations for Lackfi's burial had been made well before his death. The year of his death was in fact added to his already completed tomb slab later, and the frescoes had been painted before his death as well.²³ At Keszthely only the chancel was painted with a large series of saints and narrative scenes, and Lackfi's coats of arms were also present, for example, on one of the keystones (fig. 3). His tomb was erected in the central axis of the chancel's western bay, thus constituting the focal point of the whole ensemble.²⁴ The large expanses of walls, especially on the windowless northern wall, provided ample surface for a rich mural decoration. Two cycles, one dedicated to the seven joys of the Virgin (top row), and one to the Passion of Christ (two bands on the North wall), fill these large expanses. A number of saints are depicted between the windows, while the apostles are represented in medallions under the stringcourse.²⁵ It is uncertain what was on the vault. A large Central-European workshop must have prepared the decoration.

As Lackfi fell from power, Miklós Garai became one of the key figures in the court of Sigismund, serving as palatine (highest baron at court) since 1403. He and his brother received the castle of Siklós in 1395, and became patrons of the Augustinian church standing adjacent to the castle. The church itself was built at around the middle of the fourteenth century, and also received some painted decoration at that time. Miklós Garai had the vault of the church rebuilt, marked by a new keystone carrying his heraldic emblem, and then some time later, the entire chancel was painted with a very high quality set of frescoes (fig. 4).²⁶ The rich heraldic decoration includes the symbol of the Order of the Dragon, a knightly order founded by King Sigismund in 1408, giving clear proof that the paintings were executed after this date. The chancel consisting of two bays was fully painted, but unfortunately the large scenes on the walls are very fragmentary today. The original system of decoration, however, can be fully reconstructed. On the sides, key scenes from the life of the Virgin and of Christ can be seen: The Nativity (?), the Crucifixion, the Coronation and the Dormition of the Virgin. On the eastern walls, the apostles are depicted in two tiers, with an image of the Man of Sorrows as part of the series. On the triumphal arch, a scene of the *Traditio Legis* completes the decoration. On the vault, medallions contain a depiction of St. Anne (the patron saint of the church), then of the Virgin and child and the *Maestas*



Fig. 3.: Keszthely, former Franciscan church. View into the sanctuary, with frescoes dating before 1397. Photo: Attila Mudrák



Fig. 4.: Siklós, former Augustinian church. View into the sanctuary, with frescoes dating from around 1410. Photo: Attila Mudrák



Fig. 5.: Almakerék, parish church. View into the sanctuary, with frescoes dating from before 1405, and altarpiece from the middle of the 15th century. Photo: Attila Mudrák



Fig. 6.: Torna, parish church. Fragment of the Virgin from a Nativity-scene on the eastern wall of the sanctuary, from around 1420.
Photo: Attila Mudrák

Domini. Symbols of the four evangelists, depictions of the church fathers and of prophets can also be seen here. Smaller images include the small medallions on the sides of the windows, depicting various saints. The quality of the frescoes is outstanding; they were likely executed by a workshop familiar with Paduan painting characterized by Altichiero, and likely stem from the North Italian-South Tyrolian followers of this master.²⁷ Siklós served as the centre of the Garai estates, and the church also served as a burial place. The father of Miklós Garai – also called Miklós – was likely buried here, at least his incomplete tombstone was set up here.²⁸ The elder Miklós was killed in 1386, and it is likely that he never received a proper burial – no wonder then that his sons turned the church into a memorial to their father.

The most complex decoration of the group can be found in the chancel of the Almakerék church in Transylvania (today Mălâncrav, Romania), painted before 1405.²⁹ Belonging to the Apafi family, the church in Almakerék is a three-aisled basilica, with a western tower and a chancel

terminating in three sides of an octagon. The nave is separated from the chancel by a triumphal arch; the two bays of the chancel are covered by rib vaults. The keystone of the eastern section of the vault is decorated with the heraldic device of the Apafi family, with its grape motifs, and an inscription in Gothic majuscules.³⁰ The walls and vaults of the chancel are fully covered with a unified cycle of fresco decoration, which supplements an earlier cycle on the north wall of the nave (fig. 5). An inscription from 1405, scratched into the surface of the fresco, dates their creation certainly to before that. Although partially repainted in the eighteenth century, the entire decoration survived virtually intact, including the late Gothic main altar, which was added to the ensemble around the middle of the 15th century.³¹ The frescoes were planned and executed in a single campaign. The programme is so rich that a simple listing of the themes cannot do it justice. On the vaults apart from the combined representation of the Church Fathers and the Evangelists, four scenes – the Annunciation, Nativity, Adoration of the Magi, and Presentation in the temple – are also illustrated. The north wall is filled with scenes of the Passion in three rows, while on the south wall, in the spaces between the eastern windows saints and hagiographic scenes (St George killing the dragon, Stigmatization of St Francis) are depicted. The *Madonna della Misericordia* is represented on the

inner face of the triumphal arch.³² Painted by a Central European workshop familiar with International Gothic painting, the frescoes were likely commissioned by Nicholas Apafi, the most important member of the family during the first half of the 15th century.

Among the most exciting new discoveries are the frescoes of Torna in Northern Hungary (today Turňa nad Bodvou, Slovakia).³³ Here the parish church of the town is situated below the castle, which served as the administrative center of the county of Torna. The process of restoration is still going on inside the church, but the decoration on the side walls of the chancel has been fully uncovered. Unfortunately, a large percentage of the original painted decoration – which had once covered the entire chancel – has been destroyed over the centuries. The present building of the church had been erected by the Tornai family, who had used the church as a family burial site – as indicated by a surviving tombstone.³⁴ The last member of the Tornai family died in 1406, and it is likely that the frescoes were painted some time after that, commissioned by the new patron, Pál Özdögei Besenyő. He was a high-ranking figure at the court of Sigismund, and his generosity is also documented by the magnificent chalice, which entered the Hungarian National Museum from this church.³⁵

The frescoes consisted of a narrative cycle, depicting the Infancy and Passion of Christ. Only a few of the scenes can be identified today, including the Nativity (fig. 6), and from the Passion: the scenes of Christ on the Mount of Olives and the Arrest of Christ (fig. 7). The lower zone of the walls was decorated with a series of female saints (fig. 8), while the window splays contain varied depictions of prophets. The quality is very high overall, and the cycle was probably executed at around 1420 by a Central Eu-



Fig. 7.: Torna, parish church. Scene of the Arrest of Christ on the eastern wall of the sanctuary, around 1420. Photo: Attila Mudrák

ropean workshop familiar with the latest trends of International Gothic painting, of the same stylistic orientation as Thomas of Coloswar, the painter of the Garamszentbenedek altarpiece of 1427.³⁶

The list of similar monuments could be continued, but the churches described so far will suffice to make some conclusions. The general concept of the pictorial program in these churches is the same, but when it comes to details there is great variety. The vault is always dedicated to such themes as the *Maestas Domini* with the four Evangelists, and often with prophets or Church Fathers as well. On the walls, larger scenes, sometimes arranged in narrative cycles, are depicted. Passion scenes are almost invariably part of these narratives. Their presence is due to the main liturgical function of the chancels, the Mass. The reference to the sacrifice of Christ and the Host is even more obvious in the figure of the *Vir dolorum*, which is there near the tabernacle in several of these churches (Almakerék, Csáktornya, and Siklós).³⁷ Usually, the Virgin Mary is granted special attention as well, generally in the context of her heavenly Coronation, but sometimes in more elaborate cycles as at Keszthely. Another common element is the presence of a gallery of saints on the lower zone of the walls or in the splays of the windows. Of the saints, the apostles occupy a special place, while other saints are often selected with regard to the patron saint of the church or that of the donor; and generally the most popular saints are depicted.³⁸ Personal elements referring to the donor also include coats of arms, and in a few cases the representation of the donors appears as well (Bántornya, and perhaps at Csáktornya). In sum, all these fresco cycles are planned and unified. Such examples cannot be found from the later part of century, or in most of the contemporary naves, where instead we find narrative cycles and increasingly: individually framed altar-like devotional scenes. Another similarity of these fresco cycles is that they all share a combination of Italian and Central European style, although some, like Siklós, are closer in conception to the art of the Italian Trecento, while others such as Almakerék, are more purely Bohemian.

In terms of their function, the churches were intended as the burial sites of members of the family, and were meant to preserve their memory. As discussed above, burial rights constituted a very important factor in the prestige of family churches, and the red marble tombstones of the patrons often served as a second focal point of church chancels. This liturgically most important part of the churches was thus also



Fig. 8.: Torna, parish church. Female martyr saint from the lower zone of the sanctuary wall, around 1420. Photo: Attila Mudrák

charged with special meaning, emphasizing the important role the patrons played in the life of the local community. When complete with tombs and frescoes, the effect of chancels of such churches resembled that of free-standing private chapels. In Hungary, among the predecessors of such church sanctuaries we can mention the frescoed decoration of the episcopal palace chapels of Esztergom and Zagreb, painted at around the middle of the fourteenth century.³⁹ It is a notable change, however, that aristocrats of the Sigismund-period chose not to adorn their castle chapels with richly painted decoration, (for example at Siklós, the chapel was only partially painted), but rather to focus their artistic enterprises on the independent churches standing near the castles. This perhaps is to be explained by a desire for the visibility of the cycles – with the open display of their coat of arms and the rich painted decoration of the sanctuaries, the aristocrats clearly marked their role as patrons of the local parish churches.⁴⁰

In conclusion, we can summarise our observations as follows: for aristocrats and other high ranking nobility in the service of King Sigismund, it was important to take over churches in the centres of their new estates symbolically. These churches were divergent both in their architectural features and it was not a crucial factor whether they belonged to a religious order or not – taking over was most easily achieved by the commissioning of a new cycle of frescoes in the chancels. The unified decoration of these spaces set them apart from the simpler naves (an effect which must have been heightened by rood screens common in churches operated by religious orders), providing a special space set aside for the patrons and their families. This appropriation was often made apparent by the inclusion of heraldic symbols and the representation of the patrons in these spaces. While we have little information concerning the use of the chancels by living patrons, it is clear from archaeological evidence that the chancels often served as their burial spaces. These chancels, together with their painted decoration and elaborate tombstones were clearly the most important parts of parish churches at around 1400. The decoration of the chancels made clear the role of the aristocratic patrons, expressing their power and wealth, while at the same time providing a chance for salvation and eternal glory for them.

Notes

- 1 The best recent overview of the history of medieval Hungary is: Pál Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen. A history of medieval Hungary, 895–1526* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2001).
- 2 On the rule of Sigismund and court art during his reign, see most recently: *Sigismundus Rex et Imperator. Kunst und Kultur zur Zeit Sigismunds von Luxemburg, 1387–1437* ed. Imre Takács, Exh. cat. Budapest-Luxemburg, 2006 (Mainz, 2006).
- 3 See my attempt for an overview: Zsombor Jékely, “Die Rolle der Kunst in der Repräsentation der ungarischen Aristokratie unter Sigismund von Luxemburg,” in *Sigismundus*, 2006, 298–310. See also: Zsombor Jékely, “Regions and interregional connections – A group of frescoes in the Kingdom of Hungary from around 1420,” *Ars* 40 (Bratislava, 2007) Nr. 2: 157–167.
- 4 On the council, see among others: Jörg K. Hoensch, *Kaiser Sigismund. Herrscher an der Schwelle zur Neuzeit, 1368–1437* (München, 1996), 191–278.

- 5 On these armorial letters, see: Dénes Radocsay, "Gotische Wappenbilder auf Ungarischen Adelsbriefen," *Acta Historiae Artium* 5 (1958): 317–358.
- 6 István Feld, "Residenzen der Aristokratie der Sigismund-Zeit in Ungarn. Ein archäologischer Forschungsbericht," in *Sigismund von Luxemburg: Kaiser und König in Mitteleuropa, 1387-1437: Beiträge zur Herrschaft Kaiser Sigismunds und der europäischen Geschichte um 1400: Vorträge der internationalen Tagung in Budapest vom 8–11. Juli 1987* eds. Josef Macek, Ernő Marosi and Ferdinand Seibt (Warendorf, 1994), 235–253.
- 7 See the studies in *Budapest Régiségei* 33 (1999): *A Szent Zsigmond templom és a Zsigmond kor budai szobrászata (The St. Sigismund's Church and the Sculpture of Buda in the Sigismund Era)*. The studies were presented at a conference in 1996; further information about the church is available in the small catalogue of the exhibition presenting the finds at the same time: *A budavári Szent Zsigmond templom és gótikus szobrai (The St. Sigismund's Church of Buda Castle and its Gothic Statues)* eds. Gergely Buzás and István Feld (Budapest: Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, 1996).
- 8 Gergely Buzás, József Laszlovszky, Szilárd Papp, György Székér and Mátyás Szőke, "The Franciscan friary of Visegrád – History, archaeological remains, the results of the 1990-1993 campaigns," in *Medieval Visegrád (Dissertationes Pannonicae II.4.)*, edited by József Laszlovszky (Budapest, 1995), 27–29, fig. 170–207.
- 9 On the institution in general, see Erik Fügedi, "Sepelietur corpus eius in proprio monasterio' – A nemzetségi monostor," *Századok*, 125 (1991): 35–66. On the buildings themselves, see Ernő Marosi, "Benedictine building activity in the thirteenth century," in *Paradisum plantavit – Bencés monostorok a középkori Magyarországon – Benedictine Monasteries in Medieval Hungary* ed. Imre Takács (Pannonhalma, 2001), 651–658, with further bibliography. On Ják, see Ernő Marosi, "Die benediktiner Abteikirche St. Georg zu Ják. Bauwerk und kunsthistorische Problematik," *Acta Historiae Artium* 37 (1997): 19–70. On non-Benedictine clan monasteries: *The Architecture of Historic Hungary* eds. József Sisa and Dora Wiebenson, (Cambridge, MA – London: MIT Press, 1998), 18–25; Dezső Dercsényi, *Romanesque Architecture in Hungary* (Budapest, 1975). See also Ernő Marosi, "Churches and their adornments – From the art history of medieval Hungary," in *A Thousand Years of Christianity in Hungary – Hungariae Christianae Millenium* eds. István Zombori, Pál Cséfalvay and Maria Antonietta De Angelis (Budapest, 2001), 213.
- 10 Melinda Tóth, *Árpád-kori falfestészet (Wall-painting during the Arpadians) (Művészettörténeti Füzetek 9.)* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1974), 56–67; Zsombor Jékely, "Wall paintings at Ják and Garamszentbenedek," in *Paradisum plantavit*, 2001, 622, ill. on 153–156. The frescoes are located under the south tower of the abbey church. The patrons are clearly represented on the frescoes of the vault, while their presence on the side walls is debated. See also: Xavier Barral Altet, "Nouvelles propositions pour le tympan roman de Szentkirály et l'iconographie de la donatrice," in *Bonum ut pulchrum – Essays in Art History in Honour of Ernő Marosi on His Seventieth Birthday* eds. Livia Varga, Pál Lővei, Imre Takács, Anna Jávor and László Beke (Budapest, 2010), 165–182.
- 11 On the uses of such chapels, see Paul Binski, *Medieval Death – Ritual and Representation* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell UP, 1996), 115–122; Evelyn Welch, *Art and Society*

- in Italy 1350–1500 (Oxford History of Art)* (Oxford – New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 184–204. Trecento wills and their relations to chapels have been analyzed in most detail for Central Italy, see Samuel K. Cohn, *The Cult of Remembrance and the Black Death – Six Renaissance Cities in Central Italy* (Baltimore–London: Johns Hopkins UP, 1992). For private chapels in Florentine churches, see also: Jonathan K. Nelson, “Memorial Chapels in Churches: The Privatization and Transformation of Sacred Spaces” in *Renaissance Florence – A Social History* eds. Roger J. Crum, and John T. Paoletti (Cambridge – New York, 2006), 353–375.
- 12 The resulting appearance of secular elements in churches is analysed in: Andrew Martindale, “Patrons and Minders: The Intrusion of the Secular into Sacred Spaces in the Late Middle Ages,” *Studies in Church History* 28 (1992) (*The Church and the Arts*, ed. Diana Wood), 143–178. On the use and significance of coat of arms in churches, see: Michael Michael, “The privilege of ‘proximity’: towards a re-definition of the function of armorials,” *Journal of Medieval History*, 23 (1997): 55–74.
 - 13 On burial rights inside churches in medieval Hungary, and on the competition of monasteries and parish churches for burials and with the “oblatio” coming with it, see László Solymosi, “Egyházi és világi (földesúri) mortuarium a 11–14. századi Magyarországon” (Ecclesiastical and secular mortuarium in 11–14th c. Hungary), *Századok* 121 (1987): 547–583.
 - 14 Fügedi, 1991; Ernő Marosi, “Megjegyzések a magyarországi romanika épülettípológiájához” (Notes on typology of Hungarian Romanesque architecture) in *Architectura Religiosă Medieavală din Transilvania – Medieval Ecclesiastical Architecture in Transilvania* eds. Imola Kiss and Péter Levente Szőcs (Satu Mare, 1999), 10–24.
 - 15 Tamás Guzsik and Rudolf Fehérváry, *A pálos rend építészeti emlékei a középkori Magyarországon* (Pauline monuments from medieval Hungary) (Budapest: BME, 1980), 26. See also the general overview of Tamás Guzsik, *A pálos rend építészete a középkori Magyarországon* (Pauline architecture in medieval Hungary) (Budapest, 2003).
 - 16 A few of these monuments were first discussed as a group in Ernő Marosi, “Pentimenti – Korrekciók a 14-15. századi magyar művészet képén” (Pentimenti – Notes on 14-15th century Hungarian art history) in *Koppány Tibor hetvenedik születésnapjára – Tanulmányok (Essays in Honour of Tibor Koppány)* vol. X. Művészettörténet-Műemlékvédelem (Budapest, 1998), 110–113. On wall painting in the period in general, see Mária Prokopp, *Italian Trecento Influence on Murals in East Central Europe, Particularly Hungary* (Budapest, 1983).
 - 17 Today only a fragment of the tombstone remains. The red marble slab was removed from the church, and for a long time was outside the church, see Pál Lövei, “Az alsólendvai Bánfi család egy tagjának bántornyai sírköve – Der Grabstein in Turnišče eines Mitglieds der Familie Bánfi von Alsólendva,” in *Johannes Aquila und die Wandmalerei des 14. Jahrhunderts. Beiträge der Tagung vom 15.–20. Oktober 1984 in Velem* ed. Ernő Marosi (Budapest: MTA, 1989), 87, 127–128.
 - 18 Tamás Bogyay, “A bántornyai falképek donátorairól” (The patrons of the Bántornya frescoes), *Ars Hungarica* 14 (1986): 147–158.
 - 19 Janez Höfler and Janez Balazic, *Johannes Aquila* (Murska Sobota: Pomurska založba, 1992), 29–37, 117–121; *Gotik in Slowenien: Ljubljana, 1. Juni bis 1. Oktober 1995* ed. Janez Höfler exh. cat. (Ljubljana: Narodna Galerija, 1995), 232–237; Terézia

- Kerny and Zoltán Móser, *Képet öltött az ige – Johannes Aquila freskói (The Word Became Picture - The Frescoes of Johannes Aquila)* (Budapest, 2010), 5–16, 41–61. For a monograph on the church, see Marijan Zadnikar and Janez Balažic, *Turnišče – Zgodovinska in umetnostna podoba farne cerkve* (Murska Sobota: Pomurska založba, 1994).
- 20 On the church and its frescoes, see the following studies: Ivan Srša, “Rezultati konzervatorskih istraživanja u kapeli Svete Jelene u Šenkovcu kraj Čakovca,” in *Népek a Mura mentén (Völker an der Mur – Ljudi uz Muru – Ljudje ob Muri)* 2. *A Nagykanizsán 1997 május 15-17. között megrendezett nemzetközi konferencia előadásai (International Conference Lectures, Nagykanizsa, May 15-17, 1997)* ed. Katalin Simon (Zalaegerszeg, 1998), 123–150; Janez Balažic, “Poslikava v kapeli sv. Helene v Šenkovcu,” *Zbornik za umetnostno zgodovino* n.v. 40 (2004): 18–60; Zsombor Jékely, “A Lackfi család pálos temploma Csáktornya mellett” (The Pauline church of the Lackfi family near Csáktornya), in *Építészet a középkori Dél-Magyarországon. Tanulmányok (Essays on the Architecture in the South of Medieval Hungary)* ed. Tibor Kollár (Budapest: Teleki László Alapítvány, 2010), 165–211.
 - 21 Pál Engel, “Hermán nem 2. tábla: Lackfi,” in *Középkori magyar genealógia (Magyar középkori adattár) (Medieval Hungarian Genealogy. Hungarian Medieval Database)*, CD-ROM (Budapest: Arcanum, 2001); Pál Engel, “Zsigmond bárói – A Lackfiak” (Barons of Sigismund – The Lackfi), in *Művészet Zsigmond király korában (Art in the Era of King Sigismund)* eds. László Beke, Ernő Marosi and Tünde Wehli (Budapest, 1987) II. 427–430, 455.
 - 22 This aspect of the fresco decoration was analysed both by Balažic, 2004 and by Jékely, 2010.
 - 23 The tomb slab was removed from the floor in 1896. Pál Engel, Pál Lővei and Livia Varga, “Grabplatten von ungarischen Magnaten aus dem Zeitalter der Anjou-Könige und Sigismunds von Luxemburg,” *Acta Historiae Artium* 30 (1984): 46.
 - 24 On the frescoes, see Mária Prokopp, “A keszthelyi plébániatemplom gótikus falképei” (Gothic frescoes in the parish church of Keszthely), *Építés-Építészettudomány* 12 (1980): 367–385; Mária Prokopp, “Keszthely és Siklós újonnan feltárt gótikus falképei” (Die neuentdeckten Freskenzyklen in den Kirchen von Keszthely und Siklós), *Ars Hungarica* 23 (1995/2): 155–167. More recently, the iconography of the cycle was analyzed by Béla Zsolt Szakács, “Mária születése a keszthelyi ferences templomban” (The Birth of the Virgin in the Franciscan Church of Keszthely) in *Omnis creatura significans: Tanulmányok Prokopp Mária 70. születésnapjára – Essays of Honour of Mária Prokopp* ed. Anna Tüskés (Budapest: CentrArt, 2009), 123–128.
 - 25 On the saints, see: Béla Zsolt Szakács, “Palatine Lackfi and his saints: Frescoes in the Franciscan church of Keszthely,” in *Promoting the Saints. Cults and their contexts from late antiquity until the early modern period; Essays in honor of Gábor Klaniczay for his 60th birthday* eds. Ottó Gecser and József Laszlovszky (Budapest: CEU Press, 2010), 207–225.
 - 26 Pál Lővei, “A siklói plébániatemplom szentélye és középkori falképei” (The sanctuary of the church of Siklós and its frescoes), *Műemlékvédelmi Szemle* 5 (1995) Nr. 1–2: 177–214; Pál Lővei, “Drache und Schlange: Heraldische Elemente auf den mittel-

- terlichen Wandbildern der Pfarrkirche von Siklós,” *Acta Historiae Artium* 44 (2003): 59–70.
- 27 Zsombor Jékely, “A siklósi volt Ágostonos-templom freskóinak stíluskapcsolatai” (The Style of the Frescoes at the Augustinian Church of Siklós), in Tüskés ed., 2009, 129–136.
 - 28 Zsombor Jékely, “The Garai Tomb Slab at the Augustinian Church of Siklós” *Acta Historiae Artium* 40 (1998): 125–143.
 - 29 Victor Roth, “Die Freskomalereien im Chor der Kirche zu Malmkrog,” in *Korrespondenzblatt des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 26 (1903): 49–53, 91–96, 109–119, 125–131, 141–144; László Éber, “Tanulmányok Magyarország középkori falfestményeiről” (Essays on medieval murals of Hungary), in *Magyarország Műemlékei vol. 4.* ed. Gyula Forster (Budapest, 1915), 71–86; Dénes Radocsay, *A középkori Magyarország falképei* (Wall-Paintings of Medieval Hungary) (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1954), 55–56, 109–110 (with extensive earlier bibliography); Vasile Drăguț, “Les peintures murales de l’église évangélique de Mălâncrav,” *Revue Roumaine d’Histoire de l’Art* 5 (1968): 61–71; Zsuzsa Urbach, “Iconográfiai megjegyzések az almakeréki Nativitas-freskó egy motívumához” (Iconographic remarks on a motive in the Nativity fresco in Almakerék), *Ars Hungarica* 23 (1995) Nr. 2: 179; Dana Jenei, *Gothic Mural Painting in Transylvania* (București, 2007), 55–56, 72–77; Marie Lionnet, “Malkrog,” in *Sigismundus*, 2006, 424–425, cat. no. 4.147.
 - 30 Anca Gogaltan and Dóra Sallay, “The Church of Mălâncrav and the Holy Blood Chapel of Nicholas Apa,” in *Architectura religioasă medieavală din Transilvania – Medieval Ecclesiastical Architecture in Transylvania, II.* ed. Péter Levente Szőcs (Satu Mare, 2003), 181–210.
 - 31 On the altar, see Gisela and Otmar Richter, *Siebenbürgische Flügelaltäre* (Innsbruck: Wort und Welt, 1992), 46–57. and Emese Sarkadi Nagy, *Local Workshops – Foreign Connections. Late Medieval Altarpieces from Transylvania* (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2012), 172–175.
 - 32 On this motif, see Beatrix Gombosi, „Köpanyegem pedig az én irgalmasságom” – *Köpanyeges Mária ábrázolások a középkori Magyarországon* („Mein weiter Mantel ist meine Barmherzigkeit” – Schutzmantelmadonnen aus dem mittelalterlichen Ungarn), vol. 11. *Devotio Hungarorum* (Szeged, 2008), esp. 162.
 - 33 Ľubomír Čáp and Peter Gomboš, “Nález stredovekých nástenných malieb v kostole v Turni nad Bodvou,” *Pamiatky a múzeá*, 54, (2005): 43, 47; Jékely, 2010, 195–197; László Kovács and Jenő Görföl, *Középkori templomok Dél-Szlovákiában* (*Medieval Churches in South-Slovakia*) (Dunaszerdahely, 2010), 176–180.
 - 34 Tomb inscription: *Hic iacet Turne Janus, obiit anno MCCCC. sexto,* ann(or)um LII.* The tombstone is mentioned by Viera Luxová, “Memento mori: formy náhrobnej skulptúry,” in *Gotika – Dejiny slovenského výtvarného umenia* ed. Dušan Buran (Bratislava, 2003), 328.
 - 35 See on the chalice *Sigismundus*, 2006, 390–391, cat. 4.100. The donor of the chalice was identified in: Pál Lővei, “Néhány címeres emlék a 14–15. századból” (Heraldic monuments from the 14–15th centuries), *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 40 (1991): 49–51 (also mentioning the tombstone of János Tornai).

- 36 On some other monuments of this period and stylistic direction, see: Dušan Buran, *Studien zur Wandmalerei um 1400 in der Slowakei – Die Pfarrkirche St. Jakob in Leutschau und die Pfarrkirche St. Franziskus Seraphicus in Poniky* (Weimar, 2002). On the altarpiece, see most recently Mojmir Frinta, “Observations on the Altarpiece of Thomas de Coloswar,” *Ars* 40 (Bratislava, 2007) Nr. 1: 3–18.
- 37 The most thorough analysis of the subject and of the emergence of the feast of *Corpus Christi* is: Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi – The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge – New York, 1991). On the cult of the Holy Blood in Hungary, see Gábor Tüskés and Éva Knapp, “A szent vér tisztelete Magyarországon,” in *Művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok a magyar középkorról (Culture-Historical Essays on the Middle Ages in Hungary)* ed. Erik Fügedi (Budapest, 1986), 76–116.
- 38 On the selection of saints, see Béla Zsolt Szakács, “Saints of the Knights – Knights of the Saints: Patterns of Patronage at the Court of Sigismund,” in *Sigismund von Luxemburg. Ein Kaiser in Europa. Tagungsband des internationalen historischen und kunsthistorischen Kongresses in Luxemburg, 8-10. Juni 2005* eds. Michel Pauly and François Reinert (Mainz, 2006), 319–330.
- 39 Mária Prokopp, “Pitture murali del XIV secolo nella cappella del castello di Esztergom. I. Problemi iconografici,” *Acta Historiae Artium* 13 (1967): 273–312; Mária Prokopp, “Pitture murali del XIV secolo nella cappella del castello di Esztergom. II. Problemi dello stile,” *Acta Historiae Artium* 18 (1972): 169–192. See also Prokopp, 1983, 82–84. Barbora Glocková, “Nástenná výzdoba arcibiskupskej kaplnky v Ostrihome skúmaná v nových vzťahoch k umeniu talianskeho trecenta (alebo riminská maľba v Zaalpi),” *Ars* 33 (Bratislava, 2000): 61–77. On Zagreb, see: Ana Deanović, *Biskupska kapela sv. Stjepana Prvomučenika u Zagrebu – Spomenik slikarstva XIV. stoljeca – Bishop’s chapel of St. Stephen Protomartyr in Zagreb – A Monument of the fourteenth century painting* (Zagreb, 1995).
- 40 For a broader analysis of this topic, see the introduction and case studies in: Jonathan K. Nelson and Richard J. Zeckhauser, *The Patron’s Payoff – Conspicuous Commissions in Italian Renaissance Art* (Princeton – Oxford: Princeton UP, 2008); as well as Nelson, 2006.

Scultori italiani nella corte del re Mattia Corvino (1458-1490)

A proposito di un nuovo libro: Alfredo BELLANDI: Gregorio di Lorenzo-II Maestro delle
Madonne di Marmo (Selective Art Edizioni, Foligno, 2010,
ISBN 88-89218-08-08, pp. 470)

Ferenc Veress

I diversi stati italiani giocavano un ruolo significativo nella diplomazia di Mattia Corvino (1458–1490), re di Ungheria. I rapporti con Napoli si datavano già al tempo degli Angioini (Carlo Roberto de Angiò, re di Ungheria tra il 1308 e il 1342). Quando nel 1474 Mattia decise di sposare Beatrice, figlia di Ferdinando I d'Aragona rischiava di danneggiare l'alleanza con Venezia allora in conflitto con Napoli. Grazie alla sua diplomazia Sisto IV, invece, riuscì a guadagnare un alleato contro Venezia e Milano. L'alleanza con Napoli significava inoltre un rapporto amichevole con la corte estense di Ferrara, dove la principessa Eleonora, figlia di Ferdinando è stata moglie del sovrano Ercole. La cerimonia matrimoniale di Mattia e Beatrice ha avuto luogo il 15 settembre 1476, ma Beatrice è diventata veramente regina di Ungheria solo dopo l'atto ufficiale dell'incoronazione compiuto il 12 dicembre 1476.¹ L'Ungheria ha aiutato Napoli in diverse occasioni, ad esempio quando nel luglio del 1480 la flotta turca ha posato l'ancora presso Otranto. L'offensiva dei turchi è stata comunque impedita dalla morte del sultano Maometto/Mehmet II nel 1481. I rapporti tra Napoli e il regno di Mattia Corvino si sono raffreddati attorno al 1480; quando essendo ormai sicuro che Beatrice non avrebbe potuto partorire un erede legittimo, il re ha deciso di nominare come suo successore il figlio naturale Giovanni Corvino. Per il principe il re voleva come sposa Bianca Maria Sforza, figlia di Gian Galeazzo. Ancora una volta questo matrimonio contrastava gli interessi veneziani ma anche quelli di Napoli, la regina Beatrice infatti fece di tutto per impedirlo. Nonostante questi ostacoli l'accordo matrimoniale è stato concluso e sottoscritto il 25 novembre del 1487. Ma la principessa non è mai arrivata in Ungheria diventando dopo la morte di Mattia la sposa di Massimiliano, futuro imperatore (1493–1519).² I matrimoni erano mezzi efficaci per creare alleanze essendo motivati soprattutto da interessi politici, economici, strategici. Con Venezia è stato obiettivo comune la lotta contro i turchi, le discordie provenivano soprattutto dai possedimenti della costa dalmata. Le città dalmate erano controllate in parte dalla Serenissima ma spesso chiamavano in aiuto l'Ungheria per sottrarsi a tale controllo. Il re probabilmente non ha mai pensato seriamente di riconquistare interamente la costa dalmata essendo

in conflitto quasi permanente con l'imperatore Federico III d'Asburgo (1440–1493) e i suoi alleati. Le azioni militari di Mattia sulla costa adriatica hanno avuto piuttosto come scopo l'indebolimento delle forze imperiali. Ma queste campagne hanno disturbato Venezia e hanno impedito la costruzione di un'alleanza efficace contro i turchi. Questo si può considerare come uno dei punti deboli della politica estera corviniana.³ Anche la Santa Sede vedeva in Mattia un possibile eroe per fronteggiare il pericolo turco e condurre campagne vittoriose contro gli ottomani.⁴ Sisto IV versava continuamente al re ingenti somme per tale scopo, ma Mattia esitava a cominciare la crociata. Con Innocenzo VIII sono sorte difficoltà riguardo le città dalmate, poiché il papa sosteneva gli interessi veneziani.

Per sancire i contatti famigliari, commerciali, politici si faceva spesso uso di oggetti d'arte. Il rapporto politico con Ferrara e Milano ha lasciato un ricordo nel *doppio ritratto del re Mattia e della regina Beatrice* (Budapest, Museo di Belle Arti). Questi rilievi marmorei sono stati considerati variamente lavori centro-italiani (fiorentini) o appartenenti all'opera di Giovanni Dalmata, più probabilmente invece hanno una provenienza nordica, ferrarese. László Gerevich ha avanzato come loro possibile autore Gian Cristoforo Romano, allievo di Andrea Bregno, favorito della corte estense. Lo scultore avrebbe potuto eseguire i rilievi durante la sua permanenza a Ferrara e spedirli a Buda prima della morte del re avvenuta il 4 aprile 1490. La tipologia dei rilievi segue comunque quelli di Francesco Sforza e di Federico da Montefeltro (Firenze, Bargello). Quello di Beatrice presenta inoltre una somiglianza con una medaglia in bronzo della regina (Budapest, Museo Nazionale).⁵

Gli esempi più noti di regali diplomatici sono i due rilievi spediti a Buda da Lorenzo il Magnifico. Come sottolinea il Vasari questi raffiguravano *Dario* ed *Alessandro* ed erano stati eseguiti dal Verrocchio (1435–1488): “*Fece anco due teste di metallo; una d'Alessandro Magno, in profilo; l'altra d'un Dario, a suo capriccio; pur di mezzo rilievo e ciascuna da per sé, variando l'un dall'altro ne' cimieri, nell'armadure ed in ogni cosa; le quali amendue furono mandate dal magnifico Lorenzo Vecchio de' Medici al re Mattia Corvino in Ungheria, con molte altre cose, come si dirà al luogo suo.*”⁶ Fatti in origine probabilmente di marmo (e non di bronzo come dice Vasari) i rilievi sono a noi noti attraverso copie e varianti.⁷ Com'è stato sottolineato, la scelta di due guerrieri famosi dell'antichità poteva alludere alle capacità militare di Mattia. Il re possedeva nella sua biblioteca l'opera di Curtius Rufus: *Historia Alexandri Magni*, nonché quello di Silius Italicus: *De secundo bello punico*. Mattia è stato inoltre spesso paragonato da parte degli umanisti ad Alessandro Magno come testimoniano gli scritti di Antonio Bonfini, Naldo Naldini e Angelo Poliziano.⁸ L'attualità di tali paragoni veniva fornita dalla lotta contro i turchi, i quali nel 1480–1481 minacciavano direttamente anche l'Italia. In tale contesto le opere fantasiose di Verrocchio potevano assumere un significato speciale secondo l'intento del loro speditore, Lorenzo il Magnifico. Relativamente ad Andrea del Verrocchio abbiamo inoltre un documento datato 27 agosto 1488 nel quale si fa menzione di marmo bianco acquistato dall'agente del re, Alexander Farnoser attraverso lo scultore fiorentino Domenico di Gregorio Dominici.⁹ Da questo marmo doveva il Verrocchio scolpire una fontana destinata alla corte di Buda, lodata per i suoi pozzi da parte di Poliziano: “*Usque fluentina uestum est hoc marmor ab urbe/ Mathiae ut regi largior unda fluat.*” “*Thusca manus: thuscum marmor: rex ungarus auctor/ Aureus*

hoc ister surgere fonte velit."¹⁰ Il primo epigramma si trovava infatti scritto sulla fontana marmorea destinata a Mattia Corvino. A testimonianza c'è la trascrizione, ritrovabile in un volume della Biblioteca Corsiniana di Roma (36.E.19), fatta da Lorenzo Guidetti che ha visto la fontana ancora a Palazzo Medici.¹¹

Un altro scultore determinante per la scena artistica di Firenze alla fine Quattrocento è stato Benedetto da Maiano (1442–1497). Nella sua *Vita* Vasari racconta come il maestro avesse eseguito per il re "*un paio di casse con difficilissimo magisterio et con fatica incredibile di commessi di legni.*" Arrivati in Ungheria questi si sono rovinati a causa dell'immersione in acqua, motivo per il quale il maestro è stato costretto a ripararli, ma volendo mostrare qualcosa di più del suo talento: "*Et alzato l'animo, vinta la timidità, prese la scultura per arte: e non partì d'Ungheria ch' e' fece conoscere a quel re che la colpa era dello essercizio ch'era basso, e non dello ingegno suo, ch'era alto e pellegrino. Diedesi dunque a operare, e fece modelli di terra et alcune cose di marmo.*"¹² Nella sua recente monografia Doris Carl sottolinea che Vasari aveva ragione nell'avanzare la perizia di Benedetto come intarsiatore. Ma il biografo sembra avesse esagerato quando sosteneva che l'insuccesso in tal campo fu la ragione per la quale l'artista è diventato scultore. Anche se manca l'evidenza del soggiorno ungherese, alcuni documenti datanti dal 1493, pubblicati recentemente attestano una commissione per un *tabernacolo eucaristico* marmoreo da parte di Mattia Corvino. Dopo la morte del sovrano l'opera è rimasta incompiuta e l'agente del re, Alessandro di Giovanni rivendicava gli 80 fiorini larghi pagati al maestro. Il litigio è stato risolto con la mediazione di Filippino Lippi e Francesco Monciatto.¹³ I motivi caratteristici di Benedetto sono rintracciabili secondo la Balogh su alcuni frammenti decorativi ritrovati in Ungheria.¹⁴

Di più ci è pervenuto dall'opera di quell'inquieto talento il quale ha lasciato numerose opere anche a Roma, il croato Giovanni Dalmata (Joannes Duknovich, 1440/1445-dopo 1514). Formatosi molto probabilmente sotto influenza di maestri toscani come Verrocchio, Luca della Robbia o Antonio Rossellino, Duknovich è riuscito a formare uno stile personale definito come "robusto e appassionato." A Roma ha eseguito lavori importanti nutrendo amicizia verso Andrea Bregno e collaborando con Mino da Fiesole.¹⁵ Tra le opere romane sono da menzionare *l'altare di San Marco* per il cardinale Marco Barbo legato pontificio in Ungheria (1474) fatto insieme a Mino da Fiesole; due monumenti sepolcrali per i prelati della corte papale: quello del *cardinale Bernardo Erolì* (+1479), oggi smembrato nelle Grotte Vaticane e quello del *cardinale Bartolomeo Roverella* nella basilica di San Clemente (1476–1477). Il lavoro più complesso fu certamente il monumento sepolcrale di *papa Paolo II* terminato nel 1477 sempre in collaborazione con Mino, smembrato e mal ricomposto nel Cinquecento, oggi in stato frammentario nell'Ottagono di San Basilio.¹⁶ Dopo un periodo trascorso in Dalmazia (l'attuale Croazia) Duknovich arrivò in Ungheria verso la metà del 1480. Come menziona Jolán Balogh egli dovette eseguire commissioni importanti per il re già prima del 1488, quando in una lettera di donazione (15 luglio) questi gli concesse il titolo nobiliare insieme al castello di Majkovecz. In un altro documento del 1489 il re lo chiama "*nobis sincere dilectum Nobilem Magistrum de Tragurio.*"¹⁷ Il pezzo più famoso pervenutoci dalla sua mano è *La Madonna di Diósgyőr*, un marmo emblematico per ricostruire la cultura del tempo di Mattia Corvino.¹⁸ Sono stati rinvenuti inoltre presso la residenza reale di Visegrád i pezzi di una *fontana monumentale* in marmo

rosso decorata con stemmi e ornamenti vegetali, nonché dalla figura di Ercole bambino cavalcante l'idra, alludente alle qualità politiche di re Mattia.¹⁹

Un altro misterioso artista risulta autore di un *œuvre* completamente diversa da quella del Dalmata e fu in passato soprannominato dal Bode il "Maestro delle Madonne di Marmo." Il percorso di questo artista è stato ricostruito da Jolán Balogh a partire dai *monumenti Numai* a Forlì (Sta Maria dei Servi detto di San Pellegrino) e a Ravenna (chiesa di San Francesco, 1509).²⁰ Visto che i due maestri menzionati nel contratto del 1502 per il monumento di Forlì sono i lombardi Tommaso Fiamberti e Giovanni Ricci, si è tentato di identificare lo scultore sconosciuto con uno di questi. In realtà, le parti figurative del monumento tradiscono la cultura fiorentina del loro esecutore come riconosce anche la Balogh. La studiosa d'altro canto ha osservato acutamente i motivi di Desiderio, Rossellino e di Mino da Fiesole ricorrenti nei rilievi raffiguranti *La Madonna col Bambino* attribuibili al nostro, uno dei quali è conservato al Museo di Visegrád (deposito del Museo Cristiano di Esztergom).

L'identità di questo scultore è stata svelata solo in tempi recentissimi grazie al ritrovamento di nuovi documenti e a comparazioni stilistiche. In un suo libro apparso nel 2000 Francesco Caglioti ha avvertito la somiglianza dei spiritelli su delfini del *lavabo* della Badia fiesolana (1461) ai lavori del Maestro delle Madonne di marmo, il quale viene qui accenato come possibile aiuto di Gregorio di Lorenzo, il quale secondo i documenti eseguì maggiormente la fontana.²¹ Contemporaneamente con questa ricerca Linda Pisani ha lavorato a un saggio che ha ricostruito la fortuna di questo scultore, identificato ormai con il Gregorio di Lorenzo.²² Secondo la studiosa il maestro "*sembra infatti aver preso le mosse dalla Toscana, almeno nella seconda metà degli anni sessanta, per incontrare una fortuna precoce nel Montefeltro [...] quindi sarebbe stato convocato dalla raffinata corte corviniana e, al ritorno in Italia, dopo una sosta in Dalmazia, avrebbe terminato i propri passi in Romagna.*"²³ Questo percorso è identico a quello di Gregorio di Lorenzo, documentato dal 1455 come aiuto di Desiderio da Settignano. Negli anni sessanta sappiamo di un lavoro fatto per l'eremo di Camaldoli, nel 1473 ha stimato un'opera di Matteo Civitali a Lucca e in questo periodo (1472) si data anche la commissione per 12 busti di imperatori romani in rilievo per Ercole d'Este e per la corte aragonese a Napoli. L'ultima notizia di Gregorio risale al 1495, anno in cui ha cessato di pagare la tassa annuale all'Arte dei Maestri di Pietra e Legname.²⁴

È stato Caglioti a scoprire il documento che attesta la presenza di Gregorio in Ungheria. Si tratta della portata al catasto dell'anno 1480 nel quale si dice: "*Ghirighoro sopradetto solea fare un pocho di bottega di scharpelatore in sulla Piazza di San Giovanni nella bottega di Bartolomeo Pechori; egli s'andò chon Dio per debito, e lasciò la bottega, e le cose v'erano dentro se le prese al chonto Pechori per danari aveva avere per la pigione. Egli è circha di cinque anni che detto Ghirighoro si partì, e truovasi oggi in Ungheria, e lasciò la donna e sopradetti figliuoli, e Dio sa chom'eglino istanno. Iachopo suo fratello e circha mesi quatro si partì per andare a ritrovare detto Ghirighoro: non se n'è mai avuto novelle.*"²⁵ Come asserisce in modo convincente Caglioti, i contatti del maestro con l'Ungheria sono attribuibili ai rapporti dinastici che legavano la corte di Mattia Corvino a quelli di Ferrara e Napoli. Nel 1472 anno in cui il maestro stava eseguendo i busti degli imperatori è stato celebrato anche il matrimonio fra Ercole d'Este ed Eleonora d'Aragona, sorella di Beatrice, futura regina d'Ungheria.²⁶

Dopo questi contributi significativi è giunto il momento per un lavoro sintetico in grado di presentare al pubblico il catalogo più completo dell'artista con illustrazioni e schede critiche. Questo compito è stato assunto da Alfredo Bellandi, studioso, che ha dedicato al maestro una tesi di specializzazione nel 1998, nonché contributi riguardanti l'attività in Romagna (Forlì e dintorni).²⁷ Il primo capitolo del sontuoso volume²⁸ ripercorre le vicende critiche che hanno accompagnato l'opera dell'artista dal Bode e Venturi a Pope-Hennessy, e da Ulrich Middeldorff e Giancarlo Gentilini. *"L'immagine di un artista, del resto, non è poi solo quella che esce dalle pagine critiche, dai libri e dalle riviste d'arte. Rinvia a luoghi, a musei, al collezionismo e alla trama delle vicende che coinvolgono le opere e gli uomini nei giorni sempre nuovi della tutela e del restauro."* Tra i collezionisti spiccano nomi come Jacquemart-André, Huldshinsky, Acton, Kress, Carlo del Carlo, Elia Volpi e il tenore Enrico Caruso a testimonianza di un vivo interesse per l'artista durante la seconda parte del Ottocento e del primo Novecento. Interesse che ha dato vita anche a falsificazioni ottocentesche, come la *Madonna col Bambino* della Collezione Kress della Galleria Nazionale di Washington.²⁹ Il capitolo seguente (pp. 85–171) presenta la formazione del giovane scultore presso la bottega di Desiderio da Settignano al quale rimandano tanti particolari stilistici dei suoi lavori come ad esempio le teste di fanciulli a volte identificati con San Giovannino sparsi in diversi musei, ma anche motivi dei *tabernacoli* di Camaldoli, Sacro Eremo o quello di Cardiff, Museo Nazionale del Galles. Da Antonio Rosellino ha ricavato la tipologia delle sue *Madonne col Bambino*, ma la calligrafia grottesca dei dettagli decorativi, il ritmo spezzato dei movimenti e la linearità dei drappaggi piatti rinvia a Mino da Fiesole (si compari la *Madonna del Bargello* col rilievo di Mino dello stesso soggetto visibile accanto Inv. 743).

I due seguenti capitoli (pp. 175–233) hanno un carattere tematico: uno è dedicato ai busti in rilievo di imperatori l'altro invece ai rappresentazioni di *Vir dolorum* o Cristo coronato di spine. Nella forma in cui lo rappresenta Gregorio (con le lacrime sporgenti e in dittico con la Vergine dolorosa: Berlin, Staatliche Museen) sembra di origine fiamminga, ma come sottolineava Pisani era una tipologia da tempo nota anche in Italia³⁰ e impiegata da Matteo Civitali, un scultore di Lucca conosciuto anche da Gregorio. Gli ultimi due capitoli (pp. 271–305) sono dedicati ai lavori eseguiti a Urbino, Palazzo Ducale (peducci con volte di cherubini, ermellino, arpie ecc), e l'attività a Forlì e dintorni (Pievequinta), dove Gregorio ha collaborato con scultori di origine lombarda (Ricci e Fiamberti). Il volume si conclude con il catalogo critico che già poteva avvalorarsi da quello proposto da Caglioti nel catalogo *Matthias Corvinus*.³¹ Il catalogo è organizzato lucidamente secondo le diverse tematiche: rilievi con la Madonna e il Bambino; profili di Cesari, eroine, giovane donne; rilievi di Cristo coronato di spine; busti di San Giovannino; busti femminili; arredi ecclesiastici (tabernacoli, lunette), monumenti funebri e finalmente arredi profani.

All'attività di Gregorio in Ungheria viene consacrato il quarto capitolo (pp. 237–267). Data l'estrema frammentarietà delle opere rimaste in Ungheria, notata del resto di tutta la letteratura precedente,³² l'autore è stato costretto ad appoggiarsi sulle ricerche di Jolán Balogh in molti aspetti ancora oggi fondamentali ed attuali. Il merito dell'autore in questo caso è stato quello di pubblicare le opere attraverso fotografie di alta qualità e integrandole nel catalogo,³³ rendendole così accessibili al pubblico scien-

tifico e non. Sui frammenti decorativi provenienti dai castelli regali di Buda e Visegrád si scorgono motivi tipici di Gregorio: un putto tubicino, uno reggifestone, le coppie di delfini, l'idra; la sua mano è inoltre identificabile anche sul corvo dello stemma di Mattia (accanto ad altri stemmi aristocratici). Un'opera rimasta più integra, anche se gravemente mutilata è la *Madonna di Visegrád* (Esztergom, Museo Cristiano, in deposito presso il Museo di Visegrád), la quale accanto alla *Madonna di Diósgyőr* di Giovanni Dalmata è testimonianza emblematica della cultura rinascimentale nella corte regale. Le sue analogie con le altre opere di Gregorio, come la *Madonna* del Bargello o quella di Berlino sono percepibili a prima vista.

Accanto l'attività ungherese di Gregorio viene presentata quella svolta in Dalmazia – di nuovo una possibilità di studiare l'evoluzione dello stile di un artista partito da un ambiente di ferventi esplorazioni come Firenze. È percepibile la sua evoluzione verso soluzioni più semplificate e schematizzate (vedi le opere di Senj, Bribir e Orebić, ma anche quelle dall'area Romagnola), secondo le esigenze locali. E di nuovo come nel caso di Giovanni Dalmata ci viene data una testimonianza del contatto intenso tra Italia, Ungheria e le città della costa dalmata. Questo capitolo del volume di Bellandi si inserisce in quel vasto fiume di letteratura che cerca di presentare la cultura della corte di Mattia Corvino sotto i suoi vari aspetti e che ci offre sempre delle nuove sorprese come testimoniano i documenti recentemente pubblicati, i quali rafforzano spesso le informazioni di Vasari circa l'attività dei scultori italiani in Ungheria.

Notes

- 1 Péter E. Kovács, "Magyarország és Nápoly politikai kapcsolatai a Mátyás-korban" (Rapporti politici fra l'Ungheria e Napoli durante l'epoca di Mattia Corvino), in *Tanulmányok Szakály Ferenc emlékére* (Studi in onore di Ferenc Szakály) a cura di Pál Fodor et al. (Budapest, 2002), 229–246. Idem: *Mattia Corvino* (Cesena, 2000).
- 2 Jolán Balogh, *Contributi alla storia delle relazioni dell'arte e di cultura tra Milano e l'Ungheria* (Budapest, 1928). Péter E. Kovács, "Corvin János házassága és a magyar diplomácia" (Il matrimonio di Giovanni Corvino e la diplomazia ungherese), *Századok* 137 (2003) no. 4: 955–971.
- 3 Zsuzsa Teke, "Az itáliai államok és Mátyás" (Gli stati italiani e Mattia) in *Emlékkönyv Mátyás király halálának 500. évfordulójára* (Scritti in onore del re Mattia all'occasione del 500esimo anniversario della sua morte) a cura di Gyula Rázsó (Budapest: Zrínyi Kiadó, 1990), 268 (245–274).
- 4 Péter E. Kovács, "La Santa Sede e l'Ungheria nell'epoca dei Hunyadi (1437 – 1490)," in *Mille anni di Cristianesimo in Ungheria, Città del Vaticano: Musei Vaticani 10 ottobre 2001 – 12 gennaio 2002* (Budapest, 2001), 69–79.
- 5 László Gerevich, "Le maître des reliefs en marbre du roi Mathias et de sa femme Béatrice," *Bulletin du Musée Hongrois des Beaux-Arts* 27 (1965): 15–32.
- 6 Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite*, a cura di Rosanna Bettarini e Paola Barocchi (Firenze: Sansoni, 1971) vol. III (Testo), 535.
- 7 Per le diverse varianti e la loro storiografia: Jolán Balogh, *A művészet Mátyás király udvarában* (L'arte nella corte del re Mattia) Vol. I. (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1966), 513–516. La letteratura recente sembra accogliere come originale (anche se eseguito con l'aiuto della bottega) il rilievo marmoreo raffigurante *Alessandro* (Washing-

- ton, Galleria Nazionale). Apparso sul mercato dell'arte viennese nel 1922, il rilievo è stato prima in possesso di una famiglia aristocratica ungherese, il quale fatto potrebbe corroborare la sua autenticità. Il *Dareios* è noto attraverso una copia in terracotta al tempo a Berlino ma distrutto nella seconda guerra mondiale: Dario Covi, *Andrea del Verrocchio. Life and Work* (Firenze: Olschi, 2005), 138–143.
- 8 Lajos Vayer, "Il Vasari e l'arte del rinascimento in Ungheria," in *Il Vasari storiografo e artista. Atti del Congresso Internazionale nel IV centenario della Morte, Arezzo e Firenze 1974* (Firenze: Istituto Internazionale di Studi sul Rinascimento, 1976), 511–523.
 - 9 C. Carnesecchi, "La fonte del Verrocchio per Mattia Corvino," *Miscellanea d'arte* 1 (1903): 143. Citato in Balogh, 1966, I, 513.
 - 10 Balogh, 1966, I, 513.
 - 11 Francesco Caglioti, *Donatello e i Medici – Storia del David e della Giuditta* I. (Firenze: Olschi, 2000), 11. Si veda anche: Dániel Pócs, "Fragments of a fountain bowl from the Royal Palace of Buda," in *Matthias Corvinus, the King. Tradition and Renewal in the Hungarian Royal Court 1458 – 1490*, ed. Péter Farbaky et al, exh. cat. Budapest, History Museum, March 19th 2008 – June 30th 2008 (Budapest, 2008), 340–342.
 - 12 Vasari, 1971, vol. III (Testo), 524–525.
 - 13 Doris Carl, *Benedetto da Maiano – a Florentine Sculptor at the Threshold of the High Renaissance* I. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 14, 28, 380, doc. C. 12–13. I due documenti sono stati scoperti dal Louis A. Waldman, "Documenti inediti su Filippino Lippi e le sue opere," in *Filippino Lippi e Pietro Perugino. La Desposizione della Santissima Annunziata e il suo restauro*, a cura di Franca Falletti et al. (Livorno, 2004), 172–181.
 - 14 Balogh, 1966, I, 483–484.
 - 15 Francesco Negri Arnoldi, "L'attività romana di Giovanni Dalmata," in *Il '400 a Roma. La rinascita delle arti da Donatello a Perugino*, mostra, Roma, Museo del Corso, 29 aprile – 7 settembre 2008, a cura di Maria Grazia Bernardini et al. (Milano: Skira, 2008), 141–147. Si veda anche: *La forma del Rinascimento. Donatello, Andrea Bregno, Michelangelo e la scultura a Roma nel Quattrocento*, mostra, Museo Nazionale del Palazzo di Venezia, 16 giugno – 5 settembre 2010, a cura di Claudio Crescentini et al. (Roma: Rubettino, 2010), 151–166.
 - 16 Per una ricostruzione si veda: Giuseppe Zander in: *La Basilica di San Pietro*, a cura di Carlo Pietrangeli (Firenze: Nardini, 1989), 117.
 - 17 Jolán Balogh, "Joannes Duknovich de Tragurio," *Acta Historiae Artium* 7 (1960): 74–75 (51–78).
 - 18 Si veda l'analisi di Joannes Röhl, in *Matthias Corvinus*, 2008, 456–457.
 - 19 Gergely Buzás, *The Hercules Fountain of Giovanni Dalmata in the Royal Palace of Visegrád* (Visegrád: King Matthias Museum, 2001).
 - 20 Jolán Balogh, "Uno sconosciuto scultore italiano presso il Re Mattia Corvino," *Rivista d'Arte* 15 (1933): 273–297.
 - 21 Caglioti parla del lavabo di Fiesole a proposito della fontana proveniente dal Palazzo Medici, oggi esposto nello scalone del Palazzo Pitti, opera comune di Antonio Rossellino e Benedetto da Maiano. Vedi: Caglioti, 2000, 364–365, ill. 315.

- 22 Linda Pisani, "Per il "Maestro delle Madonne di marmo" una rilettura ed una proposta di identificazione", *Prospettiva* 106–107 (2002), 144–165.
- 23 Pisani, 2000, 151.
- 24 Pisani, 2000, 153–154.
- 25 Francesco Caglioti, "Fifteenth Century Reliefs of Ancient Emperors and Empresses in Florence: Production and collecting," in *Collecting Sculpture in Early Modern Europe*, symposium held in 2003, ed. Nicholas Penny et al. (New Haven – London: Yale University Press, 2008), 90.
- 26 Francesco Caglioti, "Gregorio di Lorenzo of Florence, Sculptor to Matthias Corvinus," in *Matthias Corvinus*, 2008, 131–132 (129–137).
- 27 Alfredo Bellandi, "Per il "Maestro delle Madonne di Marmo." Un rilievo inedito ed altre sculture poco note in Romagna," *Romagna Arte e Storia* 47 (1996): 5–26.
- 28 Alfredo Bellandi, *Gregorio di Lorenzo il Maestro delle Madonna di Marmo* (Foligno: Selective Art, 2010).
- 29 Bellandi, 2010, 3–77. Su questo aspetto si veda anche: John Pope-Hennessy, *The study and criticism of Italian sculpture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), 223–270.
- 30 Pisani cita al riguardo Fra Angelico, Antonello da Messina, Antonio da Sellaio, Sogliani e Matteo Civitali: Pisani, 2003, 148.
- 31 *Matthias Corvinus*, 2008, 133–135.
- 32 Pisani, 2003, 146: "Le molte tracce del soggiorno ungherese del "Maestro delle Madonne" oggi disseminate fra i musei di Budapest ed Esztergom, ci rendono soltanto una pallida immagine di ornamenti un tempo sfarzosi, ma sono sufficienti a dimostrare la partecipazione del Maestro ai cantieri corviniani." Caglioti, in: *Matthias Corvinus*, 2008, 131: "Fragmentariness and a bad state of repair make it almost impossible to attribute them directly and conclusively to the "Master", but their style suggests that they were made by his pupils and collaborators."
- 33 Vedi i numeri III.8.11 a–c, 14, III.10.4, 5, 6, 8, 9.

The Royal and the Popular in Early Safavid Art

Iván Szántó

A significant difference between the established academic discourse on European and Persian art history is that while the former generally uses stylistic criteria for creating its chronological framework (e.g., Romanesque, Gothic, Renaissance, and Baroque periods), the latter refers to dynasties (e.g., Seljuq, Il-Khanid, Timurid, and Safavid periods) for the same purpose.¹ This clearly indicates that modern Persian art scholarship, as it has developed in Europe, is actually an offshoot of Persian historiography. But how can one describe the style of a period which is delimited merely by the rise and fall of a dynasty? Is it legitimate to attribute stylistic characteristics to the Timurid, Turkoman or Safavid periods by naming the concurrent artistic production as Timurid, Turkoman or Safavid art respectively? Of course these categories cannot be compared to such terms as Renaissance or Baroque art, yet it remains true that dynastic changes often induce shifts in existing cultural norms. From where do they come and why? What was their repository prior to their manifestation? And why do they appear at a given historical moment? These questions are not easy to answer yet they appear regularly, for instance, in Safavid studies, as the takeover of Shah Esmā'īl I in Iran (AD 1501) ushered in several long-lasting innovations. The present paper attempts to discuss some of these problems in the realm of art history.

It is common knowledge that the Safavid state, like hegemonist rulerships in general, sought distinctive religious and cultural features. It was through the inclusion of these into the age-old governmental structure that the new state could present itself as a clear-cut entity. Hence the new formal language of its art was drawn from two main sources: from a native heritage that was brought from the Safavids' ancestral background, and from the royal establishment at Tabrīz, which the Safavids conquered in 1501. Art historians usually accentuate the latter, emphasizing the continuous normative values of court art, thus downplaying the originality of the new period. But then how can one refer to Safavid art, as distinct from the art of the Turkomans and Timurids? While early Safavid art is easily distinguishable from its predecessors, it is not so easy to grasp the essence of differences and even more difficult it is to trace, in a Rieglan way, the origin of stylistic and thematic changes. Nevertheless, one can presume that innovations, necessary for an altered style and outlook, must have come from the non-royal environment of the first Safavids. In other words, the theory is that these elements originated outside the central bureaucracy, possibly in the little-known

vernacular style of the northern Iranian countryside. This paper attempts to offer a glimpse of the pre-Tabrīz artistic climate that surrounded the Safavids before their coming into power, show the absorption of this idiom into royal art, and finally, to follow the way of this ennobled visual experience back to the local lore.

The principal achievement of the Safavid Empire was the introduction of Twelver Shi'i Islam in AD 1501 as Persia's state religion. Yet there is little information about the exact character of Shi'a, as it was practised by the Safaviya (the religious order founded by Shaykh Safī al-Dīn Ardabīlī in about AH 700 / AD 1300) before this proclamation.² Remaining for long a regional school of mystical thought, the Safaviya was one of the many religious orders that were burgeoning during the Il-Khanid period (1256–1340 AD) and afterwards.³ In the absence of contemporary written sources, these pockets of popular devotion are hardly conceivable now. Nothing certain has been left behind to suggest what their doctrinal basis and rituals were; consequently, the extent to which they were later incorporated into the nascent state religion remains unknown. By the late 9th century AH / 15th century AD, however, the Safaviya had become so deeply entrenched all over north-western Iran that its *pīr* (spiritual leader) gained the upper hand in the political vacuum left by the ailing Aq Qoyūnlū Empire (AH 780–906 / AD 1378–1501). The same moment saw the emergence of Safavid piety into light. Its earlier principles were then carefully rewritten by Safavid historiographers.⁴

The passionate visions of Shah Esmā'īl I, penned under the *nom de plume* of *Katā'i*, recall the spiritual ferment that culminated in his victory. Through its symbols and metaphors, the *Divān* of the shah expresses the beliefs prevailing in the Safavid tribal federation. A rare Persian quatrain in the collection connects the lineage of the Safavids with the household of the Prophet Muhammad, stating that

*"The love for 'Alī and his sons embraces me like life –
A servant of the King of Heroes is Esmā'īl, son of Haydar."*⁵

This straightforward and emotive poetry of an exaggerated self-reverence was born outside the Persian literary and theological canons and it was difficult to carry on in the sophisticated environment of Tabrīz. It does not come as a surprise, then, that the gradually emerging Shi'i orthodoxy and its literary aspect crystallised along different lines.

A similar canonisation took place within the visual arts. The early style of Soltān Mohammad (active in the first third of the 16th century), the master-painter of the Tabrīz school, is often and justly called "frenzied"⁶ or "illogical,"⁷ with the additional supposition that these qualities are of Turkoman origin.⁸ In fact, the proper roots of this manner are yet to be revealed. While its formal values are clearly defined by the standards of the Tabrīz workshop, these unrestrained elements might well have come from the same environment that produced the first Safavid shah's poetry. Aesthetically, both show maturity in their accomplishment, but if compared to the more aristocratic tone prevalent in the court poetry and painting of later decades, the freshness of popular art becomes discernible under the surface. Illustrations of the *Šāhnāme* (Book of Kings) attributed to Soltān Mohammad, e. g., the *Rostam Sleeping* (ca. AH 921–929 / AD 1515–1522, London, British Library)⁹, the *Combat of Rostam and Kāmūs* (ca. AH 921–929 / AD 1515–1522, formerly Leipzig, Kunstgewerbemuseum)¹⁰ or *The Combat of Hūšang and The Black Div* (from the *Šāhnāme* of Shah Tahmāsp I, ca. AH 929 / AD

1522, private collection),¹¹ interpret Ferdawsi's account in a vividly popular way. This approach differs markedly from the ceremonial narratives that are found in many illustrations from the Timurid and Turkoman periods. Soltān Mohammad's populism must have had its antecedents. It is also likely that these archetypes were more readily available at the traditional locale of the Safavids than in earlier court art, although the existence of a related popular and pro-Alid strain that was already present in some Turkoman examples, like in the copy of the *Kāvarānnāme* of Kūsefi (ca. 1486, possibly Šīrāz), must not be forgotten.¹² Suffering repeatedly from various natural and military disasters, the urban structure and popular life of late-Turkoman Tabrīz disappeared almost without trace.¹³ Fortunately, in the north western provinces of Iran, and particularly in Gilān and Māzandarān, a variety of popular imagery has been preserved, mostly in the wall and ceiling paintings that decorate the wooden architecture of the region (fig. 1).¹⁴ Despite their relatively recent origin, these naïve renderings of tales and magical concepts bear witness to the permanence of the Iranian pictorial tradition.

Three main thematic groups can be discerned in the series of Māzandarānī wall paintings: plants, animals and fantastic creatures, such as solar faces, angels and divs (demons); scenes taken from the legendary history of Iran; and, finally, stories of the Ahl al-Bayt (the Household of the Prophet). A comparison with the innovations that were brought forth by early Safavid painting is instructive. A whole series of murals



Fig. 1. Detail of wooden ceiling, Tavakoli house, Rostamkalā. Nineteenth century AD.
Photo: Iván Szántó



Fig. 2. Esrāfil, the angel of death, detail of painted wooden ceiling, Māzandarān, Bābol region. Nineteenth or early twentieth century AD. Photo after Rahīmzāde, 1382/2004, fig. 28

depicts richly clad angels blowing trumpets, punishing evil beings or simply sitting with outstretched wings (figs. 2). Trifling and pictogram-like, it was nevertheless from such figures that the cheerful yet combative angels in compositions attributable to Soltān Mohammad, including *The Combat of Hūšang* and *The Black Dīv*, might have evolved (fig. 3). Their grotesquely fleeing adversaries, the furry *dīvs*, also draw upon



Fig. 3. Flying angel, detail of *The Combat of Hūšang and The Black Dīv*, attributed to Soltān Mohammad, from the *Šāhnāme* of Shah Tahmāsp I, ca. AH 929 / AD 1522, private collection. Photo after Welch, 1976, 40

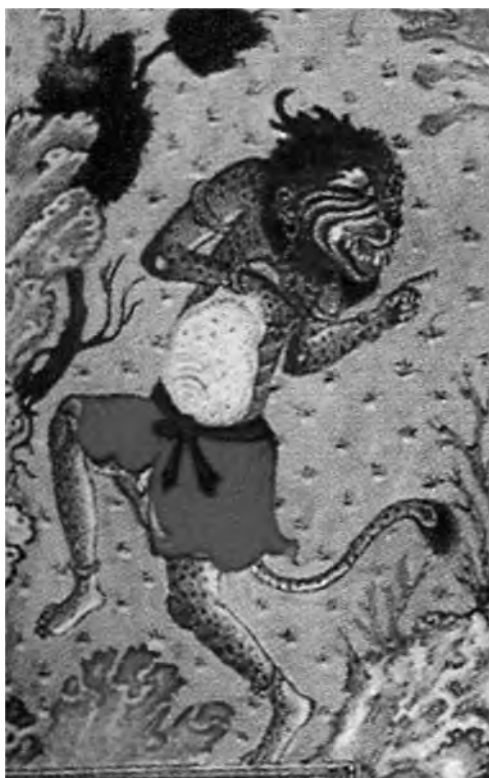


Fig. 4. Dīv, detail of *The Combat of Hūšang and The Black Dīv*, attributed to Soltān Mohammad, from the *Šāhnāme* of Shah Tahmāsp I. Ca. AH 929 / AD 1522, private collection. Photo after Welch, 1976, 41



Fig. 5. Dīv, detail of wooden ceiling, Māzandarān, Bābol region. Nineteenth or early twentieth century AD. Photo after Rahīmzāde, 1382/2004, fig. 39

the same tradition (figs. 4-5). More complex scenes of early Safavid painting, such as *The Death of Zāhhāk* (from the *Šāhnāme* of Shah Tahmāsp I, ca. AH 929 / AD 1522, private collection)¹⁵ have connections both with Timurid archetypes and, in equal measure, with popular imagery (figs. 6-7). These motifs might be referred to as pictorial units, i. e., small constructs of popular imagination, ready to be used in a more complex vocabulary.

Proto-Safavid and early-Safavid book paintings that survive from the same area, notably from Astarābād (Gorgān) and Lāhīgān, show that housing in the period was akin to later Māzandarānī architecture; even palatial constructions employed similar forms and decorative techniques.¹⁶ Thus, supposedly, the wooden poles and beams of contemporary architecture carried a similar imagery. A unique group of early-Safavid wooden mosques, centred around Marāḡa, Bonāb and Šīrlū (ʿAḡabšīr) preserves a rich, if heavily



Fig. 6. The Death of Zahhāk, detail. Illustration from the *Šāhnāme* of Shah Tahmāsp I. Ca. AH 929 / AD 1522, private collection. Photo after Welch, 1976, 45

reworked, floral and geometrical ornamentation in painting. Unfortunately, the only surviving secular structure dating back to the same period, the so-called Čehel Sotūn palace in Qazvīn, has retained only faint traces of its decoration.¹⁷ Built by Shah Tahmāsp I after AH 963 / AD 1555, this pavilion is a refined adjustment of the traditional *tālār*, or terraced hall, which is commonly seen in the Iranian countryside. The fragmentary murals inside, made about fifty years after the beginning of the Safavid period, are far detached from the popular mode, and represent a further step in the construction of a new vocabulary.

The narrow and fertile belt of the Caspian littoral, stretching between Lāhīgān and Astarābād (Gorgān), was the only Iranian region, outside Tabrīz and Šīrāz, where significant illustrated copies of the *Šāhnāme* were made in the last decades of Timurid and Turkoman domination and the early years of the Safavids.¹⁸ Containing the best depictions of architecture, the most famous of these was commissioned by Soltān Mīrzā ‘Alī Karkiyā, the governor of Gilān and mentor of the infant Shah Esmā‘īl.¹⁹ In the revival of Ferdawsī’s epic during the reigns of the first Safavid kings, these local dynasts certainly had a role. The long line of the Karkiyānids, for instance, bridged the time-span that separated pre-Mongol Iran and the Safavids physically. Although



Fig. 7. Fettered div, detail of wooden ceiling, Māzandarān, Bābol region. Early twentieth century AD. Photo after Rahīmzāde, 1382/2004, fig. 46

little is known about their mindset, the chivalrous culture of the *Šāhnāme* must have been one of its constituent parts, just as the many pre-Islamic symbols were. Soltān Mohammad's rendering of the heroic Rostam, complete with the fabulous forest of Māzandarān, clearly points to the sources of the revival.

In addition to their deep experience of ancient Iran, the Karkīyānids were devout Shi'ites, another regional mark that was shared with the Safavids.²⁰ The major themes featuring side-by-side in the wooden *tālār*s of northern Iran are likewise taken from pre-Islamic and Shi'i mythologies. The earliest traceable signs of this twofold predilection of Iranian popular art, reaching as far as modern-day coffeehouse painting, date back to this time. Early Safavid book art declared the creed of its commissioners as clearly as any of its precedents. The inclusion of the *tāğ-e Haydarī* (the red turban rod of the Safavid confederation) in virtually every illustration conveys the image of tribal affiliation that converges in a spiritual alliance. True, religious orientation denoted by clothing has examples from earlier periods as well. The *Kitāb al-Āgānī* frontispieces, to take just one example, make an evident distinction between the turbaned men of the ʿAbbāsīd Caliph, and Badr al-Dīn Lūlū, the atābeg of Mōsel, wearing a woollen cap, who commissioned the manuscripts in AH 616 / AD 1219.²¹ But dress codes were perhaps never before as meaningful as throughout the reigns of Shahs Esmāʿīl I and Tahmāsp I.²² A steel belt plaque, supposedly made for Shah Esmāʿīl I (dated AH 913/AD 1507–1508, Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum, displays in a roundel the mounted figure of a Safavid hunter

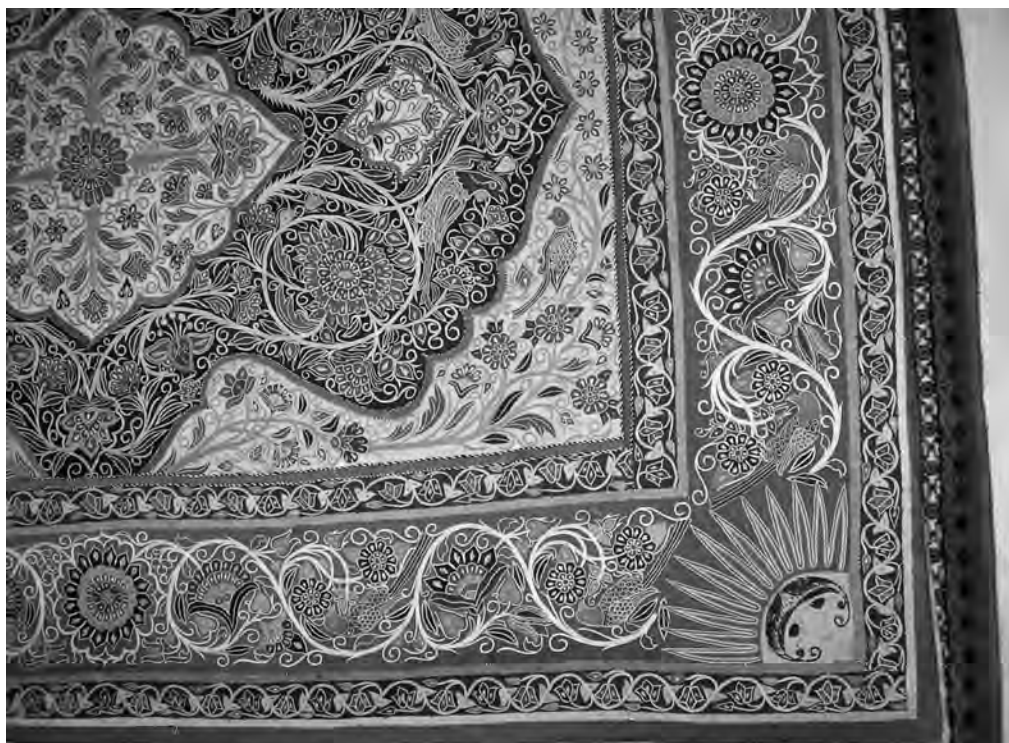


Fig. 8. Detail of embroidery, Rašt (?). First half of nineteenth century AD. Iranian Museum of Decorative Arts, Esfahān. Photo by the author, by courtesy of the Iranian Museum of Decorative Arts

with a page as its sole figural ornament.²³ Expressing a compelling visual statement, the figure represents the real wearer of the belt in a diminutive scale. This rare object says much about the degree to which the motif was identified with the Shi'i belief and the readiness to fight for its cause. The figure poses here like another simple pictorial unit, but in this case it was not an ancient popular image but a recent Safavid creation.

The *tālārs* of northern Iran are not the only preserves of popular motifs that were taken on by the court artists of Tabriz. Another set of quasi-popular artefacts, which originate from the same background and display a similar imagery, are the textile arts of Gilān province, collectively known as *Rašt-kārī*, named after Rašt, their principal manufacturing centre and trading entrepôt. Using a variety of techniques, such as embroidery (*golābdūzī*) or appliqué work (*tekkedūzī*), these objects likewise feature motifs and techniques that are more ancient than the textiles themselves. The extant pieces date back to the early Qāğār period (ca. AH 1200–1265 / AD 1785–1848). On some of the finest examples we encounter a similar, although more limited, range of patterns to those seen on wooden structures. Solar faces are among their most common motifs. A remarkable piece of needlework, supposedly made in Rašt (Esfahān, Iranian Museum of Decorative Arts, inv. no. 24.7) includes four solar faces in the corners, with their rays pointing towards the central field, in which a densely floriated medallion has been sewn (fig. 8).²⁴ The arrangement, along with the red-dominated colour scheme,

resembles early and mid-period Qāḡār wooden ceiling panels, such as the one from a Šīrāz house (Berlin, Museum für Islamische Kunst, D 1181)²⁵ and another in the house of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīm Qarīb in Garakān, near Āštiān.

Like wooden *tālārs*, *Rašt-kārī* has still visible links with the Safavid period. Michele Membré, the Venetian envoy to Shah Tahmāsp I, made references to this craft in his *Relazione*.²⁶ The most outstanding example for such a technique dating back to the Safavids is the large appliqué work from the Esterházy collection (Budapest, Museum of Applied Arts, fig. 9).²⁷ Two sets of solar faces decorate its outer and inner borders. The inner faces belong to that heraldic type, assuming a fully frontal position, which also characterises the more recent Esfahān versions. A comparison with the floral pattern structure of the Esfahān embroidery is even more rewarding. On the Qāḡār textile two types of sewn-on stripes are seen. The thin yellow bands along the two lesser perimeters meander around evenly placed rosettes in a similar way to that in which they occur in the outer section of the Budapest object. In Esfahān the middle border contains dense bunches of light-hued vines, conceived either as vegetal motifs or as purely ornamental elements. Fabrics of the same format also appear on the Safavid piece. For instance, the elaborately twisting tail feathers of the *šimorg*, the mythical bird of Iran, in combat with a dragon, adopt this form.

No matter how captivating the border zone of the Esterházy appliqué is, its crowning glory is the middle field, with its boisterous royal feast. Centred on the enthroned figure of a king, the scene follows the style that is epitomised by Soltān Mohammad.²⁸



Fig. 9. Detail of the so-called Esterházy appliqué, North-West Iran. Second quarter of sixteenth century AD. Budapest, Museum of Applied Arts, The Esterházy Collection. Photo by Ágnes Kolozs © Museum of Applied Arts

The central field and the marginal segments, if taken together, create a mixture of the Tabriz style and popular art. The joyful gathering of Safavid youths in the centre, bordered with solar faces and undulating scrollwork, is like a small-scale replica of royal Tabriz and its rural hinterland. Nowhere else can the duality of the popular and the urbane be as clearly observed as here. The Budapest appliqué demonstrates how the pictorial units of popular art were subsequently attached to the vocabulary of the court.

Moreover, the artefact also bears witness to the intrusion of book painting into the domain of rural textile arts. The central field reminds us of the finest Safavid manuscript illustrations: princes, servants and musicians feasting in a sloping landscape. With its adaptation to the appliqué, Safavid art updated a traditional craft and brought it under the aegis of the new style. This move was essential in deploying a new visual language, which was constructed of innovative pictorial units. At least some of these new motifs must have already existed in popular crafts, until Safavid artists incorporated them into the visual culture of the royal court. At the same time, the reverse tide carried court idioms to the provinces. As often happens, physical vestiges of popular arts are more recent than the well-kept treasures of royal courts, yet the former may preserve archaic characteristics that could originally have served as archetypes for the royal workshops. Thus, in the same way that one can postulate a two-way relationship between 16th-century book art and 19th-20th-century rural architectural decoration, the expansion of the Tabriz vocabulary to textiles and beyond can also be traced. While the driving force behind the building of the new image was the Tabriz library-atelier, all figurative media were actively involved in this subtle interpenetration. Right after royal Safavid painting began to use previously unfamiliar motifs, it was ready to spread these into other genres as well. There is little doubt that there was also a reciprocate influence whereby royal imagery affected popular arts. Eventually, a unified profile of early Safavid art was born from the fusion of old and recent pictorial units. Of course, this procedure is not unparalleled in Persian art. Recent scholarship produced significant studies in intermediality during the Ilkhanid and Timurid periods.²⁹ In every case, the process led to an assimilation of different genres and crafts, until it reached the degree of what we now understand as Il-Khanid, Timurid and Safavid arts.

The task of the Tabriz *ketābkāne* in the absorption of these old or unfamiliar pictorial units was to reinvigorate them as themes. Thus, in the art of Soltān Mohammad, Mīr Mosavver, and their contemporaries the small constructs of Iranian popular thought were drawn into an active interplay with the established courtly stage. In this manner, a new formal language emerged, which in time penetrated into all existing genres and created new genres as well. The Budapest appliqué, the lacquer bookbindings with figural representations on their pasteboard grounds, and the album paintings and drawings mark the directions in which early Safavid painters ventured from their original sphere of manuscript illustration. As time passed, the original meaningfulness of the new themes began to fade. Soon after the apogee of early Safavid art an increasing number of textiles, carpets and ceramics were made using angels, drinking couples and *simorghs* as mere decorative patterns. By that time these Safavid themes were no longer novelties, but provided the new pictorial units instead. Simplified into iconic formulae, they returned to the vernacular, where they remained carefully hidden until a new artistic synthesis disinterred them once more at the turn of the 19th century, in the Qāğār epoch.

Notes

- 1 This study was supported by the János Bolyai Research Scholarship of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and the Hungarian National Research Fund (OTKA no. 83166). A shorter, unpublished, version was read in Tabriz, Iran, at the *International Congress on Sultan Muhammad, Miniaturist of the Tabriz School*, on 12 May, 2005, organised by the Iranian Academy of Arts (Tehran, Iran). I owe a particularly great debt of gratitude to Yāqūb Āžand (University of Tehran, Department of Fine Arts) and Sayyed Abd ol-Mağīd Šarifzāde (Cultural Heritage Organisation of Iran) for their useful comments.
- 2 Jean Aubin, *L'avènement des Safavides réconsidéré*, Études safavides III. (Paris-Tehrān: Institut français de recherche en Iran, 1988), 28–48.
- 3 Leonard Lewisohn, "Iranian Islam and Persianate Sufism," in *The Legacy of Medieval Persian Sufism*, ed. by Leonard Lewisohn (London: Khaniqahi Nimatullahi Publications, 1992), 11–43.
- 4 For an analysis of the *Safvat ol-safā*, a genealogical work containing the fundamentals of Safavid ideology, see Abolala Soudavar, *Art of the Persian Courts* (New York: Rizzoli, 1992), 147–152.
- 5 *Kolliyāt-e Dīvān, Nasihatnāme, Dehnāme, ġūšmālār, fārsğā šerlar*, ed. by Mīrzā Rasūl Esmā'īlzāde (Tehrān: Alhodā, 1382/2004), 513.
- 6 *The Golden Age of Persian Art, 1501-1722*, ed. Sheila R. Canby (London: Abrams, 1999), 31.
- 7 Stuart Cary Welch, *Persian Painting, Five Royal Safavid Manuscripts of the Sixteenth Century* (New York: George Braziller, 1976), 42.
- 8 See, for instance, Welch, 1976, 15–17; Priscilla Soucek, "Sultan Muhammad Tabrizi: Painter at the Safavid Court," in *Persian Masters. Five Centuries of Painting*, ed. Sheila R. Canby (Bombay: Marg, 1990), 55–58; Soudavar, 1992, 159, sqq.; Yāqūb Āžand, *Sīmā-ye Soltān Mohammad Naqqāš* (Tehrān: Farhangestān-e honar, 1384/2005a), 136–137; Yāqūb Āžand, *Maktab-e Negārgeri-ye Tabriz va Qazvin-Mašhad* (Tehrān: Farhangestān-e honar, 1384/2005b), 42–47.
- 9 *Hunt for Paradise. Court Arts of Safavid Iran 1501–1576*, eds. Sheila R. Canby and Jon Thompson (Milan – New York: Skira, 2003), Cat. no. 4.4.
- 10 Basil W. Robinson, "Persian Painting and the National Epic," in *Proceedings of the British Academy, London* Vol. LXVIII. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 288, fig. 20.
- 11 Welch, 1976, 40–45.
- 12 Sa'īd Anvārī, *Kāvarānnāme-ye ebn Hosām-e Kūsefī Bīrğandī* (Tehrān: Vezārāt-e Farhang va Eršād-e Eslāmī, 1381/2002); Raya Shani, *Again on Ibn Husām's Khāvarannāma and its earliest extant illustrated copy in the Gulistan Palace Library in Tehran (Ms. 5750)*. Paper read at the 7th European Conference of Iranian Studies, Jagiellonian University, Kraków, 7–10 September, 2011 (forthcoming).
- 13 Abdolali Kārang, *Āsār-e bāstānī-ye Āzarbāyğān. Āsār o abnā-ye tārikī-ye šahrestān-e Tabriz* (Tehrān: Rāstī-ye nō. 1374/1996, reprint of 1351/1973 edition), 6.
- 14 Ma'sūme Rahīmzāde, *Saqqātālārḥā-ye Māzandarān. Mantāqe-ye Bābol* (Tehrān: Enteshārāt-e Mīrās-e farhangī, 1382/2004); Sussan Babaie, "Building for the Shah: the role of Mīrzā Muhammad Taqī (Sārū Taqī) in Safavid royal patronage and ar-

- chitecture,” in *Safavid Art and Architecture*, ed. Sheila R. Canby (London: British Museum Press, 2002), 24, fig. 4–6.
- 15 Welch, 1976, 44–46.
 - 16 Canby, 1999, 12–14.
 - 17 Seyyed Abdolmağid Šarīfzāde: *Dīvārnegārī dar Īrān. Zand o Qāğār dar Šīrāz* (Tehrān: Entešārāt-e Mīrās-e Farhangī, 1381/2003), 101–105; Ehsan Ešrāqī, “Description contemporaine des peintures murales disparues des palais de Šāh Tahmāsp à Qazvin,” in *Art et société dans le monde iranien*, ed. Chahryar Adle (Paris – Tehrān: Institut Français d’Iranologie de Téhéran, 1982), 117–126.
 - 18 Robinson, 1983, 291–292; Canby, 1999, 14, 20.
 - 19 Canby, 1999, 14, 20.
 - 20 Aubin, 1988, 4–7.
 - 21 Samuel Miklos Stern, “A New Volume of the Illustrated Aghani Manuscript,” *Ars Orientalis*, 2 (1957): 501–503, fig. 2.
 - 22 Jennifer M. Scarce, “Through a Glass Darkly? Glimpses of Safavid Fashions of the Sixteenth Century,” in Canby and Thompson, 2003, 319–325.
 - 23 Canby and Thompson, 2003, Cat. no. 8. 1; James W. Allan, *Persian Steel. The Tanavoli Collection* (Tehrān: Yassavoli, 2000), 20–21.
 - 24 Unpublished. For similar objects, see Esfandiyār Sabā, *Negaraši bar ravand-e sūzandūzihā-ye sonnatī-ye Īrān* (Tehrān: Sabā, 1379/2001), 132, 162.
 - 25 Layla S. Diba, *Royal Persian Painting: the Qajar Epoch 1785–1925* (New York – London: I. B. Tauris, 1998), Cat. no. 65.
 - 26 Michele Membré, *Mission to the Lord Sophy of Persia (1539–1542)*, intr., transl. and notes Andrew H. Morton (London: Gibb Memorial Trust, 1993), 20.
 - 27 Iván Szántó, *Safavid Art and Hungary: The Esterházy Appliqué in Context*, (Pilisszabá: Avicenna, 2010); Iván Szántó, “The “Wall-hanging” of Shah Tahmāsb I in Budapest: a Re-introduction,” in *Proceedings of the Fifth European Conference of Iranian Studies* Vol. 2. Classical and Contemporary Iranian Studies. eds. Antonio Panaino and Riccardo Zipoli (Milan: Mimesis, 2006), 251–258.
 - 28 Earlier scholarship went on to argue for Soltān Mohammad as being the inventor of the appliqué; see Károly Gombos, “Ein persischer Wandteppich aus dem 16. Jahrhundert,” *Ars Decorativa* 7 (1982): 19–28; for a more recent discussion of the same issue, see Rasim Efendi, *Azerbaijan Decoration* (Bakı: British Petroleum Company, 2002), 42–44. On modern Azerbaijani attempts to link the aretifact to Caucasian popular arts: Iván Szántó, “Egy azerbajdzsáni motívum az Esterházy-kárpiton,” (An Azerbaijani Motive on the Esterházy Tapestry) in *Azerbajdzsán-Magyarország: a kultúrák közeledése (Azerbaijan-Hungary: the Rapprochement of Cultures)* Vol. 2. (Budapest: L’Harmattan – Azerbajdzsáni Köztársaság Nagykövetsége, 2008), 182–191.
 - 29 Thomas W. Lentz and Glenn D. Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision* (Washington – Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1989), 159–237; Linda Komaroff, “The Transmission and Dissemination of a New Visual Language,” in *The Legacy of Genghis Khan. Courtly Art and Architecture in Western Asia, 1256–1353*, ed. Linda Komaroff and Stefano Carboni (New Haven – London: Yale University Press, 2002), 168–195.

“Regnavit Alexander et mortuus est.” The 1744 Funeral Ceremony of Sándor Károlyi and its Art Historical Aspects¹

Júlia Bara

In recent decades the Hungarian cultural and art historical literature has been increasingly interested in the funeral rites of the modern era. Related studies are concerned with the varieties, visual aspects and symbolism of the funeral ceremonies as well as the artistic values of the different tools and equipment used. They focus mainly on royal, princely or aristocratic funerary practices of the 16–17th century from Hungary and Transylvania and only rarely deal with cases from later centuries. Among them we can find source publications concerning funeral regulations and case studies presenting funeral objects of artistic importance, such as the funeral coat of arms, flags, epitaphs, tombs, sepulchral monuments and the ephemeral constructions known as *Castrum Doloris*.²

In line with the discourse mentioned above, this study focuses on the funeral ceremony of Sándor Károlyi from 1744 and on the artworks and architectural monument linked to it. Crossing historical and geographical boundaries, it will follow the research methods of previous related studies, trying to contribute to the knowledge about 18th century burial customs and funeral art.

The burial places of the Károlyi family until the mid-18th century

The Károlyi de Nagykároly family is one of the oldest Hungarian aristocratic families. They are traditionally believed to have descended from the Kaplon clan (genus), which won its possessions at the time of the Hungarian Conquest.³ Among their first properties were Kaplony (Căpleni, Satu Mare county, Romania), named after the denomination of the genus and Nagykároly (Carei), from which the family received its name.⁴

The first burial place of the Károlyi family was in the Benedictine monastery built in Kaplony at the end of the 11th century, which was shared with other families (Bagossy, Csomaközy, Vetéssy, Vaday) who belonged to the same Kaplony genus.⁵ By the beginning of the 17th century the monastery from Kaplony had been abandoned completely, therefore the deceased family members were buried in Nagykároly.

Nagykároly, located only at a distance of 6 kilometres from Kaplony, became the permanent residence of the Károlyi family at the end of the 15th century; the manor house and later the castle functioned as the center of the estate from this time.⁶ After

the church of Kaplony was abandoned, the medieval church of Nagykároly served as final resting place of the Károlyi family.⁷

It is interesting to mention that although from the mid-16th century this parish church came into the use of the protestant community, some Catholic members of the family such as Mihály Károlyi I. (†1626) and his wife, Borbála Segnyei de Lápispatak (†after 1648) were buried here.⁸ The reason for this is that in that period the entire county of Szatmár had only three catholic parishes, none of them situated on the estate of the Károlyi family.⁹

In the second half of the 17th century Mihály Károlyi's sons, Ádám and László were significant and active participants of the Counter-Reformation movement from Szatmár County. Ádám Károlyi invited the Jesuits to Nagykároly,¹⁰ and later his brother, László took over from the Protestants the former Virgin Mary Church with force, which was situated within the castle of Szatmár, in order to hand it over at the disposal of the Jesuits. Ádám († 1661) and László (†1686) were buried in this church.¹¹

The church of Nagykároly was taken back from the Protestants to the Catholics in 1723.¹² This was facilitated by the increase of the catholic population in the town caused by the colonization of catholic Swabians that was started in 1712.¹³ In these events Sándor Károlyi (László's son) played an important role; he founded a Piarist monastery here for the ensurance of the spiritual, ecclesiastical and educational tasks.¹⁴ During this period Sándor Károlyi's young deceased grandchildren, Sándor (†1728), Mihály (†1731), József (†1734) and Boriska Klára (†1736) were buried in the crypt located under the church.¹⁵

Before settling the Piarists in Nagykároly, Sándor Károlyi invited Franciscan monks to Kaplony in 1711. He also decided about the renovation of the deserted, ruined church, and the building of a new crypt at its southern wall. The construction works took place between 1711 and 1740.¹⁶ The character of the renovated building remained unchanged until the middle of the 19th century. In 1834 an earthquake caused such damage in the building that a reconstruction was needed. These constructions took place between 1844 and 1847. The plans of the new building and of the new crypt in the eastern continuation of the apse erected in neo-Romanesque style, were made by the architect Miklós Ybl.

The mausoleum of Sándor Károlyi from Kaplony

The idea of building a new mausoleum came about by Sándor Károlyi whose aim was to create a permanent and proper burial place for himself and his descendants. We have only little data concerning this construction. The most important sources are Miklós Ybl's surveying plans and sketches realized at around 1842 about the renovated medieval church and the baroque crypt. Among these we can find the elevation of the southern and eastern facades, a section and a floor plan sketch.¹⁷

The mausoleum was attached to the full length of the southern wall of the church and consisted of two parts: a three-bayed Crypt and stretching westward of it a one-bayed chapel with southern semicircular termination. (Fig. 1.) The small chapel,

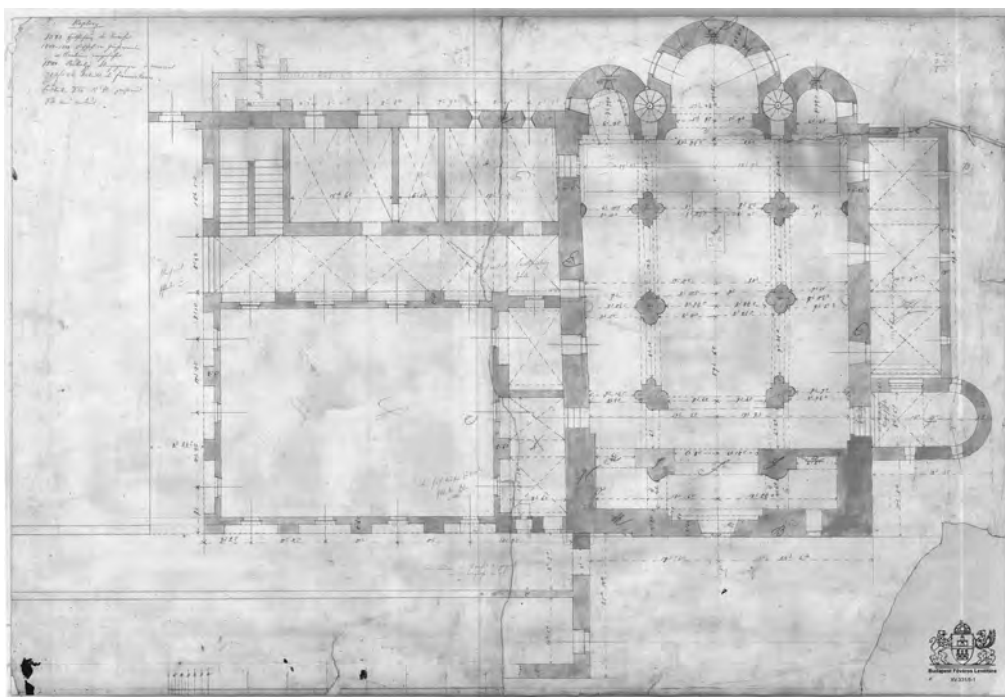


Fig. 1. The floor-plan sketch of the former Franciscan church and the Károlyi crypt from Kaplony, drawn around 1842 by Ybl Miklós. Budapest City Archives, Budapest. Inv. Nr. : XV.331/5-1

crowned with a baroque bulb helmet could have been accessed via five stairs from the church. The crypt opened from this chapel, through an iron door and was sunk into the ground, thus from the outside it looked much lower than the chapel. The south wall was punctuated by three narrow windows and it had a pent roof. (Fig. 2.)

We do not have much information about the interior arrangement of the chapel, but we know from the monograph of Antal Szirmay that it contained an altar of Virgin Mary. According to the tradition the icon of Virgin Mary currently located in the cloister of the monastery corresponds to the former altar of the chapel, but this information cannot be proved due to missing archival sources.

On Ybl's sectional drawing the system of the old crypts is visible beneath the eastern part of the three naves of the church.¹⁸ The crypt with barrel-vault ceiling beneath the central nave was most probably built in the 18th century and served as a burial place for Sándor



Fig. 2. The southern façade of the former Franciscan church and the Károlyi crypt from Kaplony drawn around 1842 by Ybl Miklós. National Office of Cultural Heritage, Budapest, Collection of architectural drawings: Inv. Nr. K 3203

Károlyi's relatives: Judit Koháry (†1718), his mother-in-law, Krisztina Barkóczi (†1724), his wife and Krisztina Csáky (†1736), his daughter-in law.¹⁹

On the eastern side of this crypt, under the southern and northern lateral aisles, the medieval crypt with extended rectangular plan was located. This space was complemented with a north-east orientated transversal extension beneath the eastern side-apse.²⁰

The crypt built by Sándor Károlyi subsequently replaced these earlier, medieval crypts. The construction had probably been finished by 1737. This assumption is based on a chronogram published by Szirmay, which has unfortunately been destroyed.²¹ Simultaneously with the finish of the construction, the above mentioned family crypt fell out of use and its entrance was closed by a red marble slab decorated with the three coats of arms of the deceased (Koháry, Barkóczi, Csáky) who were buried here.²²

The first member of the Károlyi family to find final rest in this new mausoleum was the builder, Sándor Károlyi. Later the ashes of the ancestors who were buried in the medieval church of Nagykároly along with the three coffins from the subterranean crypt from Kaplony were transported here as well.

Sándor Károlyi

Sándor Károlyi, the son of László Károlyi and Erzsébet Segnyey was born on July 2nd 1669 in Nagykároly. As a result of his activity, his family rose on the social ladder; he managed to increase their wealth by accumulating great estates and by building up an outstanding political carrier. He had important functions and titles: Comes Comitatus Satmariensis (1687–1743), Tabulae Regiae Assessor (1694). On April 29th, 1711 as the commander of the Kuruc army he signed the so-called „Treaty of Szatmár” at Nagykároly, which officially ended the Kuruc Rebellion. In the same year he obtained the title of Count and was nominated Lieutenant General. In addition, he possessed the title of royal commissioner (1715) and was a member of the emperor's closest advisors known as the Privy Council or Geheimrat (1723) and Cavalry General (from 1723). In 1724 he became lieutenant councilor (member of the so-called Consilium Regium Locum tenentiale Hungaricum) and director of Commissariatus Provincialis. Also, he was the owner of a Hungarian cavalry regiment, which he founded at his own expense in 1734. Finally, he obtained the status of military commander and field marshal of the Transtibiscan district (starting from 1741).²³

Sándor Károlyi increased the family fortune with large estates and left behind more land than he had inherited. In 1708 he obtained the Erdőd, in 1722 the Csongrád, and in 1723 the Bélték (Beltiug, Satu Mare district) estates. In 1730 due to his wife's wedding dowry, the family estate was enlarged by the Surány estates, complemented with the bordering Surány-Megyer estate in the same year through purchase.²⁴

At the same time he continued to play an important role in the Habsburg lead recatholization politics; he moved catholic Swabian settlers in the almost depopulated villages of the central family estate from Satu Mare County and reacquired the churches for them from the protestant denomination. He founded two monasteries: the Francis-

can in Kaplony and the Piarist in Nagykároly. His name is linked to many ecclesiastical constructions as he was an important patron of church and chapel buildings.

The death (1743) and the funeral ceremony of Sándor Károlyi

Sándor Károlyi died at the age of 75, on September 8, 1743. Two days later his body was placed into a wooden coffin and on the 15th of September his remains were transferred to Nagykároly to be laid out in the chapel of the castle. The acquisition of the funeral equipment (coffin, embroidered coats of arms, burial flag, candles, different textiles, etc.), the organization and preparation of the funeral ceremony and process, the sending out of death notification letters and funeral invitations was done by his son, Ferenc Károlyi. The social, political and economic situation of the family required outstanding care in planning every detail of the funeral. The outbreak of the plague epidemic and the bad weather conditions of the approaching winter season also delayed the burial, therefore Ferenc Károlyi had more than nine months at his disposal to complete these duties. Finally the date of the funeral was set to 22nd June, 1744.

Nagykároly belonged to the diocese of Eger, thus the burial ceremony was performed according to the so called "Rituale Strigoniense", a ritual book, published by Péter Pázmány in 1625.²⁵ Ferenc Károlyi expressed in a letter to the Bishop of Eger, Gábor Erdődy, his concerns regarding the procedure of the ceremony. He was worried about the bishop following the official regulations of the funerals instead of the local traditions, for which he expressed his preference.²⁶ It seems in the end Ferenc Károlyi managed to carry out his will, so the bishop's role in the planning of the ceremony was limited to the liturgy only.

Some of these old local traditions are mentioned in the work of Péter Apor written in 1746 with the title "Metamorphosis Transilvaniae", where the author presents the customs of the Transylvanian nobility. These, however, were probably in use in the entire county and used by the whole Hungarian aristocratic society with slighter or bigger differences, depending on individual financial means. In his work Apor lists multiple elements and tools of the funeral customs which can be identified in Sándor Károlyi's funeral: the silk coats of arms which decorated the coffin, the funeral edifice built at the house of the deceased, covered with black draperies, the distribution of the coat of arms and candles among the members of the funeral procession, the epitaph and decorative weapons placed around the coffin, the structure of the so-called *castrum doloris*, built in the church and decorated with emblems, coat of arms, poems, candles, among others.²⁷

The funeral ceremony of Sándor Károlyi can be reconstructed based on its contemporary German language description, which is kept in the family archives of the National Archives of Hungary.²⁸ From this document we learn that for the day of the funeral the coffin was transported to a temporary building ("herrliche Gebäu") suitable for 6–7,000 people, located in the garden of the castle in Nagykároly. The construction stood on 12 stone pillars ("auf 12 von gebräunten Steinerner bauten Säulen"), it was covered with black cloth, and on the sides decorated with green branches. The coffin,

placed on a 3 feet high catafalque situated in the middle of the tent, similarly to the catafalque, was covered with black textiles and decorated with six coats of arms of the family, embroidered with metallic filament on silk (*“reichst von Goldt und bullion gestickten Wappen seiner Gentilität”*) and 12 black candles and torches.

The funeral ceremony took place in this temporary building. The guests, delegates of the counties, family members, clergy and the representatives of the Jesuit, Piarist, Minorite and Observant Franciscan orders lined up in a previously specified order. The Episcopal stall stood on a 3 feet high platform, 4 steps away from the coffin. The ceremony began with the prayer *“Oremus pro fidelibus Defunctis”* intoned by the Bishop of Eger and was accompanied by various musicians. Ferenc Károlyi stood by the head of the deceased together with Thomas Berényi and Antal Grassalkovich. Three steel-clad men were placed near the coffin; one of them stood at the foot of the deceased and held a black emblazoned flag embroidered with gold and silver threads (*“eine schwarze von gross Detormit Goldt und bullion sehr reichgestickten grossen Wappen Fahnen”*), another one stood on the right-hand side and held a saber on a red pillow, decorated with precious stones (*“Edelgesteinen Kostbar besetzten Säbel”*); finally the one on the left-hand side held a silver-gilt mace (*“einen schwer massivi Silber und vergolten Ungarischen Streit-Kolben”*) and a red Hungarian fur headgear with a decorated crest of plumes (*“rothen ungarischen Pöltz – Mitzen [Pelz-Mütze] mit ebenfahls aus gold und silber in fligel form Künstlich ausgearbeiteten feder Busch geziret”*).

The Hungarian preaching was delivered from a provisional pulpit by Gergeley Tapolcsányi, theology professor and the superior of the Piarist monastery from Nagykároly, followed by a sung ode consisting of 180 verses and a dirge.²⁹ During the Hungarian service the provincial of the Minorite order preached in German for the Swabians in another tent. After the liturgy the participants followed the coffin in a pre-defined order to the crypt in Kaplony. The funeral procession was headed by two equerries (*“Stall-maister”*) dressed in black, followed by the nobility and the cavalry of Szatmár county divided in four groups of a hundred people each and headed by an officer holding a flag. They were succeeded by the group of Calvinists conducted by their bishops, pastors, schoolmasters and the groups of Greek Catholic Ruthenians and Romanians under 12 flags.

Further back in the funeral procession the Swabian population was organized in 8 groups, two squadrons of the Beleznay hussar regiment conducted by colonel Miklós Eötvös, marching under two embroidered flags with drums and trumpets, the cuirassiers regiment of Prince Theodor Lubomirski with flags and trumpets, the infantry artillery, accompanied by a group of armed pedestrians and hundred equerries dressed in black. After them walked six steeds with decorative horse tacks, saddles and embroidered saddle blankets lead by 14 officials (*“Hoff-Beamten”*) in green cloths. The gilded copper coffin (*“Kupfer Künstlich getriebene vergolt und versülberte ja auf das schönste hin und wider gemarmolierte Sarg”*) was placed on a wagon drawn by six horses covered with black textile. Next to the car were two horses covered with a black cloth reaching to the ground and led by four servants. Six horses drew the wagon, on which the wooden coffin with the corpse was placed outside the town. This tall, black-coated tiered wagon with black candles is called *Castrum Doloris* (*„Der Trauerwagen, insonsten Castrum Doloris genannt“*) in the description. The Greek Catholic clergy marched

next to it, along with the representatives of the Franciscan and Minorite orders, the chorus, 24 Piarist and 12 Jesuit monks, the regular clergy, the bishop and numerous high-ranking members of the clergy. The armored flag-bearer walked in front of the wooden coffin.

12 men in black carried the wooden coffin. Alongside them the armoured men processed, carrying weapons and other symbols of power. They were followed by Ferenc Károlyi in the company of Tamás Berényi and Antal Grassalkovich and other noblemen. Klára Károlyi, the daughter of Sándor Károlyi with his husband, Gábor Haller and the female relatives and guests were walking next to them. The queue was ended by the troops of the county.

At the entrance of the marketplace the body was taken over by 12 county officials, than by the Franciscans, Minorites and Piarists in succession. They transported the coffin until the city border accompanied by bell ringing. Here the wooden coffin was placed in the middle of the funeral wagon, the armored flag-bearing knight got on his horse, the bishop and the aristocratic dignitaries also got on their carts and proceeded to Kaplony. Here the Franciscans carried the corpse in the church and placed it on the *castrum doloris*, while a choral requiem was performed. After the Hungarian preaching of István Novák, an Observant Franciscan monk,³⁰ the coffin was carried to the chapel of the crypt where it was placed in the already prepared copper coffin. After the ceremony the mourners went back to Nagykároly where they participated in the funeral wake.

The funeral sermon of Sándor Károlyi featured a number of theatrical elements, which fit organically into the context of the Transylvanian burial traditions and rites, carrying significant medieval content. The importance of this example lies in the fact that it incorporates elements reflecting a period of transition. We can notice that besides the ambition for representing prestige as well as theatricality specific of the baroque era, the personality cult of the deceased also has an important role. Some items were simplified, for example the two alter egos personifying the dead person – a characteristic element of the earlier centuries that originated from the chivalric culture – disappeared, but the armored horseman carrying the funeral flag, and his two companions carrying objects symbolizing the military merits of the deceased can be interpreted as a reminiscence of this tradition.

It should also be pointed out that 15 years later the funeral ceremony of Sándor Károlyi served as a model for the burial of his son, Ferenc Károlyi. In the latter case, it can be observed that the funeral procession became more simplified. The elements related to the military career of the deceased, as well as the number of armed troops were reduced. However, it consisted of the same elements organized in a very similar order. In this latter procession – which can be reconstructed from various drafts and a drawing – similarly to the previous occasion, the following took part: groups of the different religious denominations and nationalities, cavalry troops of the county, three armored men carrying the burial flag, the sword, the mace and the Hungarian fur headgear with crest; a troop wearing black mourning dresses, two officers in black riding alone in front and behind them, 12 men holding burning torches by the coffin, horses "dressed" in color or covered with floor-length textiles, and so on.³¹

These visual elements of the funeral (the mace, the sword and the headgear with crest, the coat of arms, the funeral and the various military flags, the decorative sad-

dles and horse tools, the mortuary horses covered in black, the horse-drawn hearse with a layered structure, and the copper coffin) are the most important elements of the funeral rite and beside their cultural and historical importance they have a remarkably artistic significance as well.

Funeral supplies

According to Szirmay the cost of a funeral was 30,000 forints.³² A relatively long period was at the disposal of the family for the acquisition of the funeral supplies. The most important accessories of the funeral include the coat of arms, flags, the coffin, the objects exposed next to the coffin indicating the military career of Sándor Károlyi, the ephemeral architectural constructions like the building erected in the castle's park or the *castrum doloris* from Kaplony.

Funeral coat of arms or epitaphs

In Hungary during the 17th–18th centuries the funeral coat of arms or epitaphs were important elements of the funeral ceremonies. They had two important parts: the coat of arm of the family of the deceased and an inscription containing information about his or her pedigree, social status, wealth and death. They can be divided into two groups: those which were hung on the wall of the churches to keep the memory and assure the representation of the deceased in the ceremonies, made of precious metal or of painted and gilded wood, and the second group of painted coats of arms with ephemeral characters made for the purpose of the ceremony specifically. The latter were painted on silk or paper and could decorate the pall covering the coffin, the bier, the *castrum doloris* or the locations of the ceremony. In this group belonged the coat of arms made usually in a large number, which was distributed among the members of the procession.

Before presenting Sándor Károlyi's funeral coat of arms we need to take a look at the history of the family's coat of arms. The ancestral coat of arms of the Károlyi family consisted of a round-based shield with a sparrow-hawk with expanded or folded wings standing on a hill or cliff. Following 1609 when Mihály Károlyi (1585–1626) gained the title of baron from King Matthias II, the family began to use an extended version of it. In the subsequent version the sparrow-hawk expands its wings and turns its head to the right and in his upraised right claw holds a heart, being surrounded and supported by a crowned dragon-serpent which bites its tail with its mouth.³³ When on April 5th 1712 Sándor Károlyi received the title of count from emperor Charles VI in recognition of his merits, the coat of arms of the family, according to the habits of the time, was expanded with the coat of arms of their related families. The form of the new coat of arm was established and depicted by the diploma of donation. In this new coat of arms the old coat of arms of the family appears as a heart shield in the centre of a pointed-based shield, which is divided into five sections. In these fields appear armorial elements from



Fig. 3. Sándor Károlyi's funeral coat of arm. Hungarian National Museum, Budapest, Textile Collection. Inv. Nr. 1907. 123. Embroidery on taft-silk. 124x96 cm. 1744. Published by: László Baják

the coat of arms of the Sennyey (de Kissennyey), Barkóczy and Perényi families. Above the shield a crown with eleven silver balls is placed (these are known as pearls), mantling in the shape of leaves and three visored helmets with crowns, on which figures

from the coats of arms of the Seghnyey (de Lapispatak), Koháry and Thurzó families are lying. The supporters of the coat of arm are two double-tailed lions, each holding a silver and red colored swallow-tailed flag, surrounded by military emblems.³⁴

We learn from the description of the funeral of Sándor Károlyi that the coffin of the deceased was covered with black textile from which they hung six coats of arms, embroidered with metallic filament ("6 auf das reichst von Goldt und bullion gestickten Wappen seiner Gentilität"). These are probably equivalent with the baron's coat of arm, which was taken over by the other families belonging to the Kaplony gens as well.³⁵

The supplies from Sándor Károlyi's funeral include an embroidered silk-taft epitaph, today part of the Textile Collection of the Hungarian National Museum.³⁶ (Fig. 3.) The funeral arms were very popular in that period, and they were painted mostly on paper, wood and rarely on silk; the embroidered funeral coats of arms were uncommon because of their costliness and long production period, therefore in most of the cases only the funeral flags of the aristocracy were decorated with embroidery.

The description of the funeral is not mentioning this epitaph with outstanding artistic value, but it is presumable that it was placed in front of the catafalque from where after the funeral ceremony it was moved onto the wall of the crypt or chapel from Kaplony in order to keep the memory of the deceased. It is important to note that it is the earliest epitaph known related to the Károlyi family. The later coats of arms were made using different techniques, the coats of arms of Ferenc Károlyi and Antal Károlyi were embroidered on silk, but the later ones, made during the 19th–20th centuries were more simple and painted on paper.³⁷

The 124×96 cm epitaph of Sándor Károlyi is embroidered with coloured spun silk yarn, silver and gold metallic thread, metallic lamella and crinkle wires (Bouillon) and flitter is also used. The embroidery is in accordance with the traditional arrangements of the epitaphs: the coat of arms of the Károlyi family is placed in the central oval field, surrounded by an inscription about the deceased and decorated at the corners with floral ornament. The central motive, the coat of arms of the family corresponds almost perfectly with the one depicted in the diploma of awarding them the title of count. Among the differences it can be mentioned that in the case of the epitaph the crown on the shield only has 5 pearls instead of 11 and the trophy of weapons (flags, gun-barrels, cannonballs, drums) was completed with additional elements (military pick, trumpets, blue flags with two tails, similar to the flags of the Károlyi cavalry regiment, two crossed field marshal batons).

The coat of arms is placed between an inscription divided into two parts, listing the estates, the most important titles and the functions of the deceased. At the bottom of this inscription a separate ribbon informs us about the time of death:³⁸

Ex[cellentissimus] ac I[llustrissimus] D[ominus] Com[es] D[ominus] Alexander Karoly de Nagy Karoly Arc[ium] et D[omi]nior[um] Karoly Erdöd Csongrad Megyer Surány Haer[editarius] D[omi]n[u]s

S[acrae] R[egi]ae Ma[ies]t[ati]s Act[ualis] Int[imus] et Ex[celsi] Co[nsilii] R[egiae] Loc[um]t[enen]tis Con[siliarius] G[ene]ralis Camp[i] Mar[eschalli] Un[ius] Reg[alis] Eq[uestris] Ord[inis] Col[onellus] I[n]clycti Co[m]it[at]us Szatmár[iensis] Sup[remus] Comes et Prov[incia] Com[missionis] Dir[ector].

Obyt Die 8. 7[=septem]bris A[nno] D[omini] 1743 AEtat[is] Suae 75

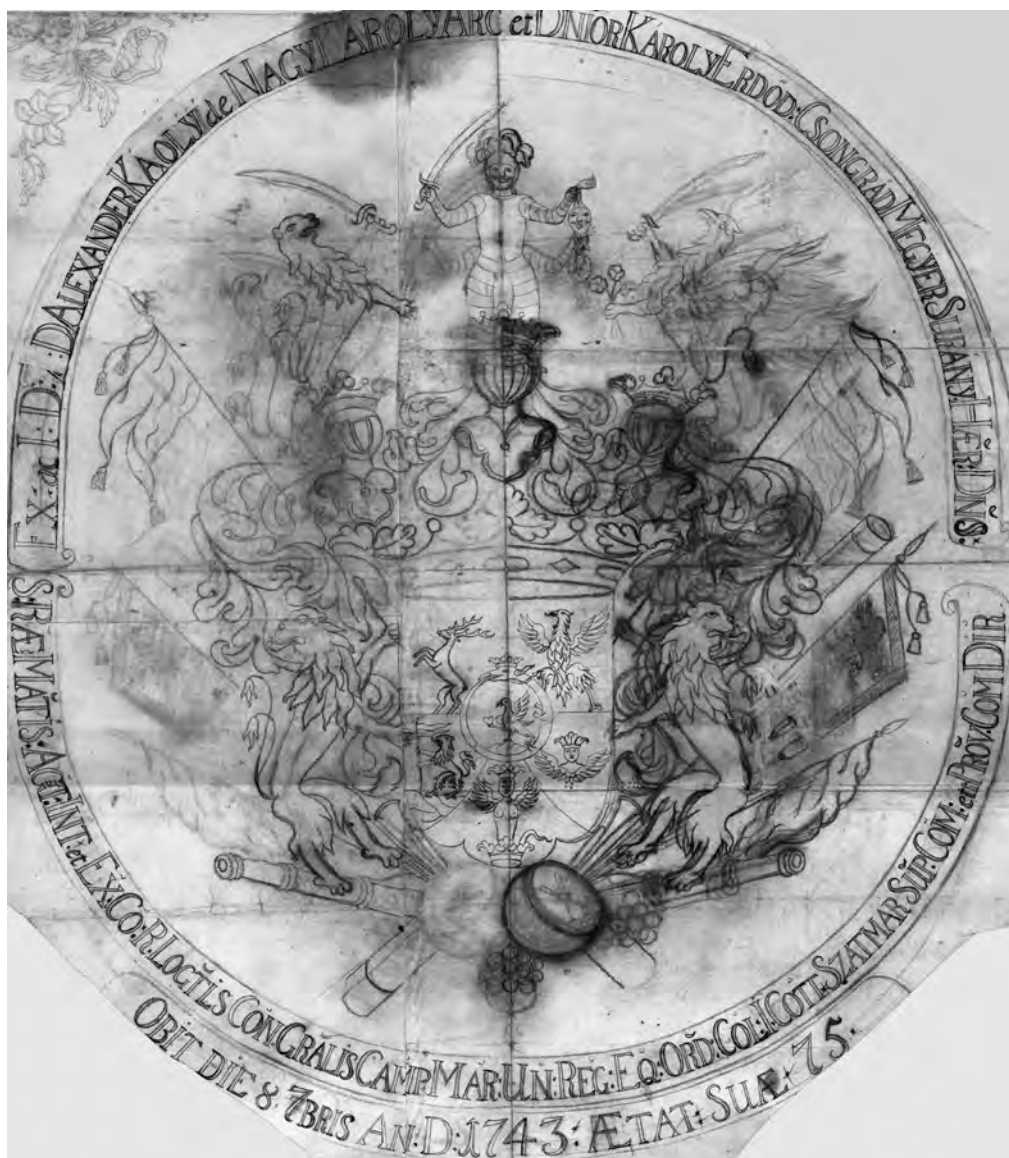


Fig. 4. Pattern of Sándor Károlyi's funeral coat of arm. National Archives of Hungary, Budapest. P 392. Lad. 8. No. 207. Pencil on paper, in multiple assembly parts. 1744.
Photo: Erika Czikkelyné Nagy

Most probably the model for the pattern of the embroidery was the coat of arms of the family from the diploma of donation or a copy of this drawing.³⁹ (Fig. 4) In this schematic pattern of the funeral coat of arms the following improvements can be noticed: the armorial bearings above the helmets were enlarged, the abbreviated form of the family name on the inscription ribbon was spelled out fully and the word "comitis" was inserted in front of the name. The designer of this sketch sought accuracy primarily in the elaboration of the main components of the coat of arm, the secondary and



Fig. 5. Ferenc Károlyi's funeral coat of arm. The Collection of Ecclesiastical Art Mészleányi Gyula, Szatmárnémeti (today Satu Mare, Romania). Embroidery on taft-silk. 1758. Photo: Éva Puskás

supplementary items such as the symmetrically organized trophies around the shield were outlined only indicatively and only the floral decoration of the upper right corner was worked out entirely.

Unfortunately, the embroiderer of Sándor Károlyi's funeral coat of arms cannot be identified from the collection of documents of the burial. We only have a note in the chronicle (*Historia Domus*) of the Piarist monastery in Nagykároly mentioning that the coat of arms was, together with other funeral supplies, ordered from Pozsony (today Bratislava, Slovakia). In support of this, some documents from the Károlyi Archives show that the family employed an embroiderer from Pozsony called Stephan Molnár during this period. He was the designer of the ten flags and the drum flags decorated with the Károlyi coat of arm, which Sándor Károlyi had made for his hussar regiment in 1734⁴⁰ and the funeral coat of arm for Ferenc Károlyi in 1759.⁴¹ (Fig. 5)

As the coat of arms from the epitaph of Sándor Károlyi – regarding its structure, the embroidery technique and quality – corresponds with the coat of arm from the drum flags and from the epitaph of Ferenc Károlyi, we can conclude that it originates from the same workshop. Since the coffin of the deceased was made in Pozsony, it seems plausible to assume that the six coats of arms for the decoration of the coffin and the epitaph were ordered from the same city too, from embroidery master Stephan Molnár ("Stephan Molnár bürgerliche Goldstücker" "Varró Molnár István"), who had performed similar tasks for the family beforehand and who might have had the sketches for the Károlyi coat of arm.

Sándor Károlyi's coffin and its analogies

Today the coffin of Sándor Károlyi is situated in the crypt built by Miklós Ybl. So far, the building and its interior furnishing, as well as the coffins with outstanding artistic values escaped the attention of art historians. The literature on local history has noted that the coffins of Sándor and Ferenc Károlyi as well as the coffin of Krisztina Csáky belong to the same style and were made in Pozsony, but their statements were not supported by archival sources.



Fig. 6. Krisztina Csáky's coffin. Károlyi family-crypt, Kaplony. Copper. 1736. Photo: Júlia Bara

In chronological order the coffin with the earliest date of manufacturing belonged to Krisztina Csáky, the wife of Ferenc Károlyi. The countess died on February 28, 1736 and she was buried on March 20. According to the chronicle of the Piarist monastery in Nagykároly the coffin, which cost 300 Forints, was ordered from Pozsony along with the painted coat of arms and other funeral supplies.⁴² (Fig. 6.) This coffin, placed on six craniums, has two parts: a box-like lower part following the contours of the wooden coffin, and the coffin lid. The longer sides of the coffin have the same design: the centers are decorated with a putto surrounded by ornamental foliage, symmetrically enclosed on both sides by a lion head. This is not just a decorative ornament, but it has an important function as well as the clamps for the handles are fixed to it. While the sinuous plant decoration continues as the shape narrows, a vanitas symbol appears on the head line: a putto sitting on a volute and blowing bubbles, a reminder of the Latin proverb "*homo est similis bullae*" or "*homo bulla*" (life is like a soap bubble). The upper side closer to the head is also decorated with ornamental foliage and a lion head. The lower side towards feet and the right side lengthwise cannot be studied, but they are certainly following the design already presented. The sides of the coffin are connected to each other with elements decorated with volutes at both ends.

The rounded corners of the coffin lid in the shape of a trapeze also have volute design, but four putti (plump angels) rest on these with their wings closed in front of their chest. In the axis of the longitudinal sides there is a human skull with crossed shinbones beneath. The head side of the lid is decorated by a Baroque carriage with the painted coat of arms of the Koháry family. The cover of the lid can be divided into



Fig. 7. Sándor Károlyi's coffin with Ferenc Károlyi's coffin in the background. Károlyi family-crypt, Kaplony. Copper. 1744 and 1758/1759 respectively. Photo: Júlia Bara

two parts. The head side is decorated by a relief depicting Christ's crucifixion with the figures of a praying man and a woman. At the side of the feet under a door decorated with trumpet blowing angels a plaque is visible with an inscription related to the deceased. On the entire surface of the coffin the figural representations are woven with rich ornaments inspired by vegetation. The closest analogies for the coffin of Krisztina Csáky are the coffins from the crypt under the Loretto Chapel in the Augustinian church in Vienna.⁴³

The designs of the coffins of Sándor and Ferenc Károlyi follow this tradition, although these are much larger in size and their ornamentation is enriched with new, emblematic elements symbolizing the significant military role of the deceased. (Fig. 7.) They are almost identical in design and they were certainly made in the same workshop.

The archival sources indicate that Ferenc Károlyi initially wanted to order his fathers' coffin from a Viennese coppersmith, but because he fell ill after the conclusion of the contract, Károlyi ordered it from Pozsony in the end.⁴⁴ 14 years later the director of the family's estate ordered the coffin for the deceased Ferenc Károlyi from Pozsony as well. According to the contract made with the coppersmith master Peter Eller, the price of this last coffin was 650 forints, but he had to finish it in four months. He had to follow the coffin model of Sándor Károlyi, with a coat of arms on the front and with a niche at the upper part for the portrait of the deceased and the plaque for the engraving of the titles and functions.⁴⁵

In light of these data we can conclude that the master of the two coffins was the same person, coppersmith Peter Eller (*civis cuprarius, nomunatus civis cuprarius*,

Burg. Kupferschmied) from Pozsony, who worked between 1726 and 1757. His name appears several times between 1727 and 1740, as best man, in register of births, marriage and deaths. Between 1729 and 1732 Eller worked with Georg Raphael Donner in St. Martin's Cathedral in Pozsony to prepare sculptures for decoration of the Chapel of St. John the Almsgiver. In 1757 he completed the statue of St. Michael the Archangel, the crowning statue of St. Michael's Gate in Pozsony.⁴⁶ There is no written information regarding his studies and oeuvre, but his works should have been influenced by Donner, with whom he worked in St. Martin's Church. Other influence could have come from the followers of Donner. Among them, some the most well-known were Johann Nicolaus and Balthasar Ferdinand Moll, the masters of the tin sarcophagi of Emperor Charles VI., Francis I and Empress Maria Theresa in the Imperial crypt in Vienna.⁴⁷

As mentioned before, the structure of Sándor and Ferenc Károlyi's coffin follows the pattern of Krisztina Csáky's coffin. While the latter rests on six craniums, the formers are placed on feet modelling helmets and breastplate wearing human skulls. On their sides and lid the same number of very similar ornaments are visible. Beside the repeated elements such as the clamped lion heads, friezes, volutes, bubbles blowing putti, the skull with shinbones, the putto heads decorating the corners of the lid, the iconographical program and the arrangement of the lid, there are some new elements.

In the middle of the longer side of the two coffins, the putto-head visible on Krisztina Csáky's coffin is replaced with military symbols such as flags, drums, cannon, shield, breastplate, helmet with plume, mace, sword, pistol, hammer, marshal's baton and so on. On its left side a new element appears representing an angel blowing a trumpet. The heightening of the lid allowed the usage of a richer decoration. The longer sides of the lid are ornamented symmetrically, the vegetal ornament showed on Krisztina Csáky's coffin is replaced with military symbols (shields, flags, drums, cannons, cannon balls, hammers, marshal's baton, mace, pistol) arranged in four groups on each side.

Although Ferenc Károlyi's coffin is almost an exact copy of his father's, the two coffins differ in a few details. While the craniums holding up Sándor Károlyi's sarcophagus are realistic, in the case of Ferenc Károlyi's coffin, these become stylized and mask-like. In the latter case, the putto heads placed on the corners of the lid have an individualized face and hairstyle, wearing a breastplate under their wings, while those on Sándor Károlyi's coffin are schematic and simplified. In both cases, the majority of the ornaments were processed from separate copperplates and applied on the coffin subsequently; however, those on the later coffin stood out more boldly from the backgrounds and even, as in the case of the corner-ornaments, became bigger.

On the upper part of Sándor Károlyi's coffin lid there is a relief of the cru-



Fig. 8. The coat of arm of the Károlyi family from Sándor Károlyi's coffin. Károlyi family-crypt, Kaplony. Copper, colored. 1744. Photo: Júlia Bara



Fig. 9. Sándor Károlyi's coffin portrait. Károlyi family-crypt, Kaplony. Painted on copper. 1744. Photo: Júlia Bara

cifixion scene, beneath that a niche for the portrait and inscription plate, closed with a little door, which is decorated with the inscription "1744" and the initials IHS enriched with a cross, a heart and three arrow figures. The Károlyi's coat of arms in both cases is moulded from a separate copperplate and is attached to the head sides of the lids. (Fig. 8.) The structure and the coloring of the coat of arm from Sándor Károlyi's coffin is an exact copy of the arms appearing on the diploma of donation mentioned earlier. Under the door of the niche a high-quality half-length portrait of Sándor Károlyi is placed. (Fig. 9.) Sándor Károlyi is depicted in front of a dark, uniform background with his head turned slightly to the left, with gray hair and moustache and wearing a short fur-lined coat over a dolman, a rosette deco-

rated with precious stones and a plumed brown fur-capon his head. Unfortunately the painter of the portrait is unknown. On the other hand it is known that Ferenc Károlyi's portrait on his coffin –, which followed a similar technique, size and composition – was painted by Daniel Schmidelli, a painter from Pozsony.⁴⁸

Other funeral supplies

The funeral supplies without doubt included a funeral coat of arms painted on paper or silk as well, however, these did not survive the centuries. For the funeral of Ferenc Károlyi in 1759, for example, 200 coats of arms painted on paper and 100 painted on silk were ordered from Daniel Schmidelli, the above mentioned painter from Pozsony.⁴⁹ After the funeral sermon these, along with lit candles and torches, were distributed among the people according to social rank. Women received candles only.⁵⁰ Apart from this, coats of arms were placed on the black-coated altars of the church from Kaplony: three on the high altar and two on both side-altars.⁵¹

Unfortunately, the funeral flag was also lost. This was probably two-tailed, broi-dered on black material and with the coat of arms of the Károlyi family, according to the tradition and to the funeral flag visible on the drawing of Ferenc Károlyi's funeral process.⁵²

The items placed next to Sándor Károlyi's bier were also an important part of the funeral supplies. What these were we do not know exactly, but some visual sources can be of help. The collection of the Hungarian National Museum has a full-length portrait of Sándor Károlyi that had been made slightly earlier, on which the count ap-

pears in front of the scenes of the surrender on the Majtény (today Majcichov, Slovakia) plain, dressed in festive clothes almost identical to the clothes visible on the funeral portrait, wearing a fur headgear with a decorated crest of plumes, a sword in a jewelled sheath and a gilded silver mace.⁵³ From these elements the fur headgear appears on the portrait from the coffin as well. However, in the archives of the Károlyi family more sketches from this period for hat crests are preserved. The inscription on one of them reveals that it was made from gold decorated with 100 precious stones and the same number of pearls.⁵⁴ In all probability similar military objects were placed around the bier of the deceased count.

The different flags, the decorative horse tacks and the embroidered drum flags and saddle blankets mentioned in the description were important elements of the spectacle.

The funeral supplies include Sándor Károlyi's *castrum doloris* as well. This ephemeral architectural construction was placed in the church from Kaplony and served as a place for the coffin of the deceased. Unfortunately, we do not have visual sources to research it, only a schematic written draft. This tells us that it was decorated with the coat of arms of the deceased and of his parents (László Károlyi and Erzsébet Segnyey), as well as of 27 emblems.⁵⁵ The tent-like building constructed for the bier on the day of the burial was most probably a spectacular edifice as well. The fact that this venue of the funeral sermon created an atmosphere similar to a theatre is reflected in the description of the funeral, in which it is named "Theatris" or "Schau - Bünnen".

The funeral of Sándor Károlyi was an important event of the social representation characteristic of the baroque era. It also underpinned his family's cult. The supplies of the funeral ceremony were used not only as visual elements of the ceremony, but later they became the most important appurtenances of the crypt in Kaplony, proclaiming the social status and pedigree of the deceased and his descendants.

Notes

- 1 This article is facilitated by doctoral scholarships awarded through the program: *Investing in people!* Ph.D. scholarship, Project co-financed by the SECTORAL OPERATIONAL PROGRAM FOR HUMAN RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT 2007 – 2013. Priority Axis 1. "Education and training in support for growth and development of a knowledge based society". Key area of intervention 1.5: Doctoral and post-doctoral programs in support of research. Contract nr.: POSDRU/88/1.5/S/60185 – "Innovative doctoral studies in a Knowledge Based Society" Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania.
- 2 The list of the related publications is large; we are just mentioning the key works, which can give us an overall picture of the funeral tradition and artworks, in which are discussed the history of research and the most important case studies as well: Péter Szabó, *A végtisztesség. A főúri gyászszertartás mint látvány (Last Honours: The Aristocratic Funeral as a Spectacle)* (Budapest: Magvető, 1989); Idem, "Temetkezési kultúránk újabban felfedezett forrásai elé," *Irodalomtörténeti közlemények* 102 (1998) Nr. 5–6: 744–760; Idem, "A fegyverzet szerepe a főúri gyászszertartáson," (The Role of the Armor in the Aristocratic Funeral), *Ars Hungarica* 14 (1986) Nr. 1: 115–124; Idem, "Uralkodói temetéseink kérdéséhez," (On the Question of our

- Regal Funerals) in *Magyar reneszánsz udvari kultúra (Hungarian Court Culture in the Renaissance)*, ed. Ágnes R. Várkonyi (Budapest, 1987), 324–337; László Baják, *A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum címeres halotti emlékei (Armored Funeral Supplies in the Hungarian National Museum)*, vol. XIX of *Bibliotheca Humanitatis Historica* XIX. (Budapest, 2007); Klára Garas, “Halotti kultusz, címerek, ravatalképek, epitáfiumok,” (Funeral Cult, Coats of Arms, Paintings of Catafalques, Epitaphs) in *Magyarországi festészet a XVII. században (17th Century Painting in Hungary)*, (Budapest, 1953), 71–81; Enikő D. Buzási, “17th Century Catafalque paintings in Hungary,” *Acta Historiae Artium* 21 (1975): 87–124; Géza Entz and András Kovács, *A kolozsvári Farkas utcai templom címerei (The Coats of Arms of the Church in Street Farkas, Cluj-Napoca)*, (Budapest-Kolozsvár: Balassi-Polis, 1995); Géza Galavics, “Egy efemer építészeti műfaj hazai történetéhez (Batthyány József castrum dolorisa),” (An Essay Concerning the Inland History of an Ephemeral Type of Architecture: The Castrum Doloris of József Batthyány) *Építés-Építészettudomány* 5 (1974): 497–508; Mária Aggházy, *A barokk szobrászat Magyarországon I. (Baroque Sculpture in Hungary I.)* (Budapest, 1959).
- 3 About the history of the family see: Gábor Éble, *A nagy-károlyi gróf Károlyi család leszármazása a leányági ivadékok feltüntetésével (The Genealogy of the Counts Károlyi of Nagy-Károly Including Female Lines)*, (Budapest, 1913).
 - 4 Gábor Éble, *A Nagy-Károlyi gróf Károlyi-család összes jószágainak birtoklási története I-II. (History of All Estates Possessed by the Counts Károlyi of Nagy-Károly I-II.)*, (Budapest: Franklin-Társulat Könyvnyomdája, 1911).
 - 5 We have little information about the early period of the history of the church and about the persons buried here. According to Antal Szirmay, here were buried in stone sarcophagus the mortal remains of László (+1585), István, János and Ferenc Károlyi. See: Antal Szirmay, *Szatmár vármegye fekvése, története, és polgári eszmérete II. (Location, History, and Civil Description of County Szatmár II.)* (Buda, 1810), 51–52.
 - 6 Gábor Éble, *A Károlyi grófok nagykárolyi várkastélya és pesti palotája (The Károlyi Family's Castle in Nagykároly and its Palace in Pest)*, (Budapest, 1897); György Asztalos, *Nagy-Károly rendezett tanácsú város története 1848-ig (The History of Nagy-károly until 1848)* (Nagykároly, 1892. Reprinted: Debrecen, 2004), 74–86.
 - 7 This medieval church was dedicated to All Saints and formerly was situated in the vicinity of the today's Piarist church.
 - 8 Parish Archive from Nagykároly. Inordinated: “HISTORIA DOMUS” (Chronicle of the Piarist monastery from Nagykároly). 18; National Archives of Hungary (hereinafter: MOL), P 1507. 17. d./e.: Sándor Károlyi's memoir intitulated “*Providentia Dei*” 5–6, 17, 41.
 - 9 Szirmay, 1809, I.13; *Magyarország vármegyéi és városai: Szatmár vármegye (Counties and Towns of Hungary: County Szatmár)*, ed. Samu Borovszky (Budapest: Országos Monografia Társaság, 1908), 171.
 - 10 Kálmán Géresi, *A nagy-károlyi gróf Károlyi család oklevéltára IV. (The Archives of the Counts Károlyi of Nagykároly IV.)* (Budapest: Franklin-Társulat Könyvnyomdája, 1887), CXLII. 346–350.

- 11 Ágnes Kovács, *Károlyi Sándor* (Budapest: Gondolat, 1988), 19–20; Éva Gyulai, “Kegyúr és káplán – Károlyi Sándor gróf és Kelemen Didák minorita missziója,” (Patron and Chaplain: the Mission of Count Sándor Károlyi and Didák Kelemen to Friars Minor) in *Tanulmányok Kelemen Didák tiszteletére (Essays in Honour of Didák Kelemen)*, ed. Zita Horváth (Miskolc, 2008) (Publicationes Universitatis Miskolcensis: Sectio Philosophica, tom. XIII, fasc. 1), 74–75.
- 12 MOL, P 1507, 17/1.f. – Sándor Károlyi’s diploma for the protestant community of Nagykároly.
- 13 István Vónház, *A Szatmár megyei német telepítés (German Settlement to County Szatmár)* (Pécs, 1931).
- 14 József Vénig Zernye, *A piaristák működése Nagykárolyban a XVIII. században (Piarists in Nagykároly in the 18th Century)* (Kolozsvár, 1935) (unpublished doctoral thesis), 7; Gábor Éble, *Károlyi Ferencz gróf és kora, 1705–1758 (Count Ferenc Károlyi and his Era, 1705–1758)* (Budapest: Hornyánszky Viktor Könyvnyomdája, 1893), 148.
- 15 Parish Archive from Nagykároly: Cópia Visitatione canonicae Episcopalis, 1777. 3.
- 16 Szilveszter Terdik, “Kaplony monostorának újjáépítése Károlyi Sándor (1669–1743) korában,” (Rebuilding the Monastery of Kaplony During the Era of Sándor Károlyi [1669–1743]) in *A Nyíregyházi Jósza Múzeum Évkönyve Vol. LI. (Nyíregyháza, 2009)*, 335–369.
- 17 National Office of Cultural Heritage (hereinafter: KÖH), Budapest, Collection of architectural drawings: Inv. Nr. K 3203. (elevation of the southern facade), K 3202. (elevation of the eastern facade), K. 3204. (section drawing). Published in: *Paradisum plantavit. Bencés monostorok a középkori Magyarországon (Paradisum plantavit. Benedictine Monasteries in Medieval Hungary)*, ed. Imre Takács (Pannonhalma, 2001), 446–447: Cat. Nr. V.54–56; Budapest City Archives (hereinafter: BFL), Budapest, XV.331/5–1. (floor plan sketch) Published: Béla Zsolt Szakács, “Kaplony, római katolikus templom,” (The Roman Catholic Church of Kaplony) in *Középkori egyházi építészet Szatmárban. Középkori templomok útja Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg és Szatmár megyékben (Ecclesiastical Architecture in County Szatmár in the Middle Ages. A Journey along Medieval Churches in the Counties Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg and Szatmár)*, ed. Tibor Kollár (Nyíregyháza: Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg Megyei Önkormányzat, 2011), 242.
- 18 KÖH, Collection of architectural drawings, Inv. Nr. K. 3204. Published: ed. Imre Takács, 2001, 447; ed. Tibor Kollár, 2011, 244. (Béla Zsolt Szakács)
- 19 Éble, 1913, 76.
- 20 See Miklós Ybl’s plans about the church in which he marks the floor plan of the crypts. BFL, XV.331/5–1. Published: Szakács, 2011. 242.
- 21 The text of the inscription: „VnVs Sándor károLI e seMINE kapLIon/ perbene seLegIt sIbI sorte faVentibVs astrIs”, See Szirmay, 1810, 50–51.
- 22 Éble, 1913, 76. In the second half of the 18th century these coffins were transported to the new mausoleum, but the others probably remained at their original places. In 1991 when the floor of the church was changed, the workers founded under the marble slab the entrance to the crypt and fragments of the medieval walls, but there was no professional excavation.

- 23 Éble, 1913, II.
- 24 Éble, 1911, XI–XVI; Kovács, 1988, 196–210.
- 25 Antal Miskei, “Eszterházy Károly egri püspök liturgikus könyve (1768),” in János Makai, ed., *Acta Academiae Pedagogicae Agriensis, Sectio Historiae. Nova Series. Tom. XXXV.* (Eger, 2008), 89–96.
- 26 “Tudván az mostani szokást és tartván attúl ne talán Excellentiád kegyes rendelése ahhoz szabadni kívánná az temetést [...] abba az egybe esedezünk kegyes gratiájáért méltóztassék megengedni, hogy ő méltósága temetését földünkön szokott tisztelettel tehessék meg.” MOL, P 1501. 148. lad. 4.1./40.
- 27 Péter Apor, *Metamorphosis Transylvaniae. Avagy az erdélyi régi szokások és rendtartások, az kik voltak s múltanak, s újak származtanak* (1736) (*Rhymed Funeral Oration Which Was Recited and Sung on the Occasion of the Funeral of Count de Nagykároly General Sándor Károlyi, in Nagykároly, June 22, 1744*), (Bukarest, 1978), 122–134.
- 28 MOL, P 1502. 148. Lad./ 4.1. 1–8.
- 29 Gábor Éble, *Nagykárolyi gróf Károlyi Sándor tábornagy temetése alkalmával 1744. június 22-én Nagy-Károlyban részint elénekelt, részint elmondott verses búcsúztató*, (Budapest: Hornyánszky Viktor Könyvnyomdája, 1888).
- 30 The text of the funeral oration was published in 1747 at the Royer Typography from Pozsony (today Bratislava, Slovakia) with the title: „*Világ Biró Nagy Sándor, az az: Méltóságos Nagy-Károlyi Gróf Károlyi Sándornak Országglása s Bóldog Halála*” (“*The Rule and Blissful Death of World-Commanding Alexander the Great, namely: the Honorable Count de Nagykároly Sándor Károlyi*”). In this work the author enumerates the merits of the deceased, metaphorically comparing him with Alexander the Great, and building up the speech around a citation from the first book of Maccabees: “Regnavit Alexander [...] et mortuus est” (I. Machab.1.v.8).
- 31 Szabó, 1989, 120–137.
- 32 Szirmay I, 1809, 116.
- 33 This dragon refers to insignia of the Order of the Dragon, founded by Sigismund, King of Hungary. According to Gábor Éble in the second half of the 16th century some members of the Károlyi family belonged to this order. See: Éble, 1913, 21.
- 34 Éble, 1913. 3–29.
- 35 Among the Károlyi family belonged to the gens of Kaplony the Vetéssy, Bagossy, Csomaközi and Vaday families. These, with the exception of the Vetéssy family, which died out until the 18th century, were using the baronial coat of arm of the Károlyi family. See: Bagoši Erzsébet’s (1703–1764) funeral coat of arm in the reformat church from Farkas street in Kolozsvár (today Cluj Napoca, Romania). Bibl.: Entz and Kovács, 1995, Cat. 4. 53.
- 36 Baják, 2007, 50–52.
- 37 At present the majority of them are kept in the crypt of the Károlyi family from Kaplony and in the Piarist Church from Nagykároly (founded by Antal Károlyi). The embroidered epitaphs includes the epitaph of Ferenc (1758), Antal (1791), József (1809) and István Károlyi (1907). One of Antal Károlyi’s funeral coats of arms is in the crypt from Kaplony, together with two other paper coats of arms from the 20th century. Lately the funeral coat of arms of Ferenc Károlyi from Kaplony was res-

taurated by Emese Varga, the co-worker of Satu Mare County Museum from Satu Mare. A painted funeral coat of arms of Antal Károlyi is kept in the National Archives of Hungary and in the Petőfi Literary Museum from Budapest, while the funeral coat of arms György Károlyi (1802–1877) is preserved in the collection of the Hungarian National Museum. See: Baják, 2007, 56. 87–89; László Baják, "Címerek a gyászszertartásokon, halotti címerek a 19. századból," (Coats of Arms in Funerals, Funeral Coats of Arms from 19th Century) *A Herman Ottó Múzeum évkönyve* 35–36 (1997): 185–190.

38 According to László Baják. See: Baják, 2007, 50.

39 MOL, P 392. Lad. 8. No. 207.

40 This cavalry regiment consisted of ten centuries, each having a flag which carried at one side the imperial eagle with the Hungarian coat of arms on its chest, but at the other side were embroidered different representations (8 different heraldic elements of the Károlyi coat of arm, the Károlyi baronial coat of arms and a Madonna representation) accompanied by emblematic inscriptions.

41 MOL, P 1502. 7. / 4. b./ 2. 12.

42 Parish Archive from Nagykároly: "HISTORIA DOMUS". 7–10; *Gróf Károlyi Ferencné, született Csáky Krisztina halála 1736. február 28-án, temetése ugyanazon év márcz. 20-án* (*The Death of Mrs. Count Ferenc Károlyi, née Krisztina Csáky, on 28th February 1736, her Funeral on 20th March in the Same Year*) ed. Gábor Éble, (Budapest: Hornyánszky Viktor Könyvnyomdája, n.d.).

43 Magdalena Hawlik-Van de Water, *Die Kapuzinergruft: Begräbnisstätte der Habsburger in Wien* (2nd edition: Freiburg-Basle-Vienna: 1993), 31.

44 MOL, P 398. 32716. The letter of Miklós Eötvös to Károlyi Ferenc (25th January 1744.)

45 MOL, P 1502. 4./4/b.: The letter of Demeter Rácz to Antal Károlyi, written on 16th November 1758. 8.

46 Aggházy, 1959, 188; SAUR, *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon: die bildenden Künstler aller Zeiten und Völker* Vol. 33. (München–Leipzig, 2002), 296. (I. Bardoly); *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart* Vol. 10. eds. Ulrich Thieme and Felix Becker (Leipzig, 1914), 465; Stefan Rakovszky, *Pressburg und seine Umgebung* (Pressburg, 1865), 80; Tivadar Ortway, *Pozsony város utcái és terei* (Pozsony, 1905), 367; Anna Petrová-Pleskotová, "Bratislavskí výtvarní umelci a umeleckí remeselníci 18. storočia," *Ars* 4 (1970) Nr. 1–2: 215. and *Ars* 6–8 (1972–1974): 288; About the construction of the chapel see: Mária Malíková, *Juraj Rafael Donner a Bratislava* (Bratislava, 1993), 25–41. Malikova supposes that at the construction of the main altar taking place between 1733 and 1735 worked the same masters as at the building of the chapel. The list of the costs of Peter Eller for his work at the chapel, signed by Donner as well, was preserved in the Esztergom Primatial Archives, see: Gyula Prokopp, "Levéltári adatok Georg Raphael Donner pozsonyi éveihöz," (Archival notes for the Pressburg Stay of Georg Raphael Donner) *Ars Hungarica* 6 (1978) Nr. 2: 333 (329–339).

47 Thieme and Becker, ed., Vol. 25. 1931, 40–41; Aggházy, 1959, 88–89; Hawlik-van de Water, 1993, 51–55.

- 48 See the bill of the painter for Ferenc Károlyi's coffin portrait, written at 11th October 1759: MOL, P 1502, 7./4.b./Documents about Ferenc Károlyi's funeral. 3.
- 49 MOL, P 1502, 7./4.b./Documents about Ferenc Károlyi's funeral. 9.
- 50 MOL, P 1502, 7./4.b./Documents about Ferenc Károlyi's funeral. 69.v.
- 51 MOL, P 1502, 7./4.b./Documents about Ferenc Károlyi's funeral. 56.
- 52 MOL, P 1502. 7./4.b./Documents about Ferenc Károlyi's funeral. (drawing. Dimension: 15x193 cm) Partly published in Szabó, 1989, 124–127.
- 53 Hungarian Historical Gallery, Inv. Nr. 83.7.
- 54 About the ornamental weapons of the Károlyi family: Ferenc Temesváry, "Díszfegyverek Károlyi-gyűjteményéből," (Parade Armors from the Károlyi Collection) *História* 1 (1979): Nr. 3, 35.
- 55 MOL, P 1501. 148. lad. /4.1. 285–263.

The Iconostasis of the Greek Catholic Church in Szerencs

Katalin Simon

Szerencs is one of the oldest Greek Catholic parishes in the historical Zemplén County in the Deanery of Tokaj-Hegyalja, in the north eastern part of Hungary. The widow of count Aspremont-Reckheim, Julianna Rákóczi settled Hungarian and Ruthen Greek Catholics from Bereg Shire in the area following the Rákóczi War of Independence.¹ Their parish was a filiale of Bodrogolaszi, but due to the growing congregation, they wanted to become self-sufficient. They sent their petition to Julianna Rákóczi in 1715, who gave them permission to build their own church. János Puskárszky became their first priest.²

The Greek Catholics in Szerencs became the largest community in the second half of the eighteenth century in the Deanery of Tokaj-Hegyalja, where they had the most *filiale* (16), with the utmost congregation size (over one thousand believers).³

Their first, wooden church was supposedly built in the 1710s, without tower.⁴ This was refurbished forty years after, as the *canonica visitatio* says, they had a „stone church” in 1751, which was founded by their priest, János Puskárszky. But this church was built using clay without lime and sand, so it could not be so strong. The *canonica visitatio* describes the internal fittings as well. Presumably they had no iconostasis at this time, because the specification gives an account of many important details of the fittings - for example about the altar, but there is no reference to an iconostasis.⁵

The late baroque Greek Catholic stone church, which stands to this day, was completed in 1799 (Fig. 1).⁶ It has one tower, which was built in 1855. Its nave is two-sectioned, squinch-vaulted, with niches on both sides of the nave. The choir has a round ending.⁷ On the vault the Procession of the Holy Ghost and the Ascension of the Theotokos were depicted, with the four Evangelists on the four edges. On the vault of the choir we can see the Entombment of Christ.⁸

The iconostasis of the church is about seven metres high and seven metres wide. It stands in the triumphal arch between the nave and the choir, and it fills the arch completely (Fig. 2.).⁹ It was built at the beginning of the nineteenth century. It has 54 icons in six tiers. The pictures are detached every two levels. On the two lower tiers are the four essential icons of the Worship Tier, and under them we can see a rare representation on iconostases, the four sacrifices from the Old Testament. Over the Worship Tier in the middle of the row there is Christ Enthroned, with Feasts and the Apostles on both sides of him. On the upper part of the iconostasis the six-six *tondos*



Fig. 1. The Greek Catholic church „Koimesis” (Dormition of the Theotokos) in Szerencs circa 1799. Photo: Szilveszter Terdik



Fig. 2. The iconostasis in the Greek Catholic church in Szerencs at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Photo: Zoltán Bakos

of Prophets are located on each side. They are arranged in a pyramidal manner, as they encircle the crown of the iconostasis, the Crucifixion, with „God’s Eye” under it. The entire iconostasis is arranged with white-based carvings, columns, semi-columns with gilded leaves and flowers.

The emphasized parts of the iconostasis are the Crucifixion, Christ Enthroned, and the four essential icons. The last two have two times the height of the other paintings. The pictures of the Worship Tier portray Saint Nicholas, the Theotokos with the Child,¹⁰ Christ, our Master and the feast of the church, the Koimesis. The first three are similar to the Apostles: they all stand in front of a low horizon, they have monochrome background, so they are placed in an abstract field. These static imageries have sharp contours in cold colours.¹¹ Contrary to this, the four sacrifices of the Old Testament are stirring. They are depicted from left to right chronologically. The first is The Fratricide of Cain, the second is Prophet Elias in Mount Carmel – with the rainbow in the background –, and the third is Priest Melchizedek. The last icon depicts the Sacrifice of Isaac. The composition of these paintings is symmetrical: in the pictures on the two sides, there are only two figures, while the inner paintings depict multi-figured scenes.

The northern Deacons’ Door (or Angels’ Door) of the iconostasis represents Archangel Michael, the southern Archangel Gabriel. The two wings of the Holy (or Royal) Door depict Jacob’s dream and Moses in front of the burning bush.¹² The articulation of the pictures is firmly vertical, partly due to the format of the paintings, which is a standing rectangle, with a semi-circular cut off in the upper side of it. The wings are rich in gilded, vegetal plate-tracery. Over each door there is a field, which depicts heads of angels over the northern and the southern door, while the Last Supper is painted over the main door.

On both sides of the Enthroned Christ the main celebrations of the Greek Catholic Church are shown: on the northern side there are scenes from the life of the Theotokos, and on the southern part of the iconostasis from Christ. These two parts are in collateral relationship with each other; for example the northern scenes start with the Birth of the Theotokos, and end with the Assumption of the Theotokos (Koimesis), while the first picture on the southern part is Adoration of the Magi, and the last is Ascension of Christ. The compositions are baroque: dynamic, with many persons.

Over the Feasts is the row of the Apostles. The format of the paintings is similar to the Feasts’: standing rectangular with a semicircular cut-off. The composition is similar to the pictures of the Worship Tier: low horizon, abstract field, static portrayal. It is easy to identify them since all have their emblems in their hands. The title of the third and the fifth Apostle on the northern side caused problem, but compared with the iconostases in Tokaj and Sátoraljaújhely, where the order of the Apostles was similar, and all names were subscribed in the icons, we can certainly say that the third Apostle is Luke, the Evangelist, and the fifth is Saint Mark in Szerencs. In every three iconostases Saint Mark turns his head down as he is reading the Holy Bible carefully, while Saint Luke has the Evangelium in his left hand, and a pen in his right in Szerencs and Sátoraljaújhely.

The upper part of the iconostasis consists of the two pyramids of the Prophets. Most of them can not be identified as their emblems are too similar (rollscript or book, without any text), except Moses with the Tablets and King David with the

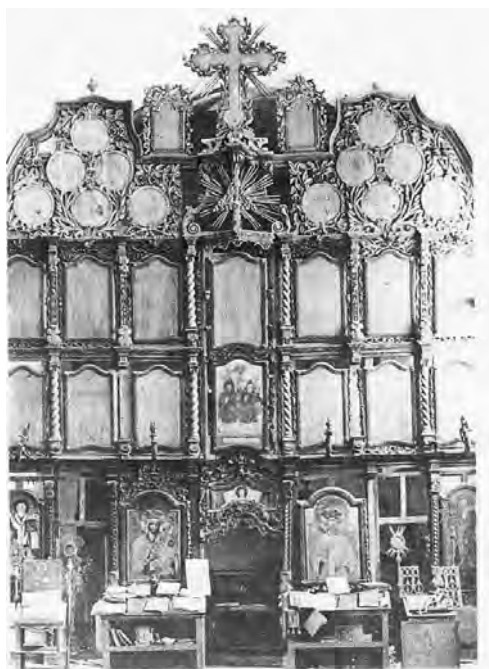


Fig. 3. Follower of Miklós Jankovicz: The demolished iconostasis in the Orthodox Saint Nicholas church in Tokaj at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Photo after Nagy, 1998, 210

harp. Their pyramids surround the crucified Christ, with the praying Mother of God and Saint John the Evangelist. Under the Cross a favourite Roman Catholic baroque composition, “God’s Eye” is set.¹³ The upper part of the iconostasis, the Prophets in *tondos* with pyramidal construction and the so called “God’s Eye”-composition can both be related to the demolished Orthodox iconostasis in Tokaj, which was made by an unknown Miklós Jankovicz-follower.¹⁴ (Fig. 3.)

The ornaments compensate the block-like appearance of the iconostasis, due to its same high and wide. At the paintings of the Worship Tier and the Prophets the plate-tracery makes the effect more graceful. At the edges of the Holy Door and the row of the „essential icons”, and in the row of the Feasts composite-style columns articulate the entire iconostasis. Between the Apostles there are pilasters with white trunks and a gilt head. On the two sides of the Enthroned Christ there are gilded composite-style

pilasters, at the Deacons’ Doors white-based, vegetal ornaments and pilasters decorated by ribbons.

The iconostasis has many rare iconographical elements, for example the composition of „God’s Eye”, the four sacrifices from the Old Testament, the two scenes in the Royal Door (Jacob’s dream and Moses in front of the burning bush). In Hungarian Greek Catholic art, similar compositions to the latter can only be found in the iconostasis of the cathedral in Hajdúdorog. These scenes are over the Deacons’ Doors there. The relationship between them is conspicuous. In both iconostases Moses kneels on the right side of the painting, turning his back to the viewers. Both times he is wearing a white shirt and a blue dress. In the background there are two sheep. The angel is on the left side of the picture wearing a red garment, and his bare right leg can be seen under his knee, while he points upwards with his left hand – in Hajdúdorog and in Szerencs alike.

A similar relationship can be seen in Jacob’s dream. In both paintings Jacob is sleeping on the left side of the image, on his red cloak, with his head turned down. There is a ladder ascending on the right side, where angels climb up. The difference between the paintings in Hajdúdorog and in Szerencs comes from the distinct format of the pictures. In Hajdúdorog it is roundish, so the scenes were easier to paint, while in Szerencs the frames are oblong. The painter did not exploit this opportunity, he did not emphasise the vertical composition too much. These scenes can be seen in Ortho-



Fig. 4. Miklós Jankovicz – Anton Küchelmeister: The iconostasis of the Orthodox church „Holy Trinity” in Miskolc, 1793–1808. Photo after Nagy, 1994, 134

dox churches too. In the Church of Saint George in Karcag they are in the Holy Door too, under the scene of the Annunciation: with Mary and Moses with the burning bush on the northern wing, and with Archangel Gabriel and Jacob’s dream on the southern



Fig. 5. The Royal Door, detail of the iconostasis in Szerencs. Photo: Zoltán Bakos



Fig. 6. The Fratricide of Cain, detail of the iconostasis in Szerencs



Fig. 7. Prophet Elias in Mount Carmel, detail of the iconostasis in Szerencs



Fig. 8. Melchizedek, detail of the iconostasis in Szerencs



Fig. 9. The Sacrifice of Isaac, detail of the iconostasis in Szerencs. Photo: Szilveszter Terdik

(the iconostasis was carved by Miklós Jankovicz). The scenes are similar to this, but in reversed in the iconostasis in Békés (painted in the 1780s).¹⁵

The composition of “God’s Eye” appeared in the second half of the eighteenth century in Orthodox and Greek Catholic art, due to western influence. In Greek Catholic art it is presented in Hajdúdorog (where the church was built around the eighteenth and nineteenth century), and in Abod (Borsod County, around the eighteenth

and nineteenth century), as well as in Homrogd (Abaúj County, 1831) or Aranyosapáti (Szabolcs County, 1839).¹⁶ But in Orthodox art it played a major role, especially in the iconostases of Miklós Jankovicz. We can find it in his work in Eger (Saint Nicholas Church, 1791), Miskolc (Trinity Church, 1793, Fig. 4.), Pest (Assumption of the Theotokos, 1800) and in Karcag (Saint George Church, at the beginning of the nineteenth century).¹⁷ Presumably these monumental works of art (especially the iconostases in Eger and Miskolc) had their influence on the eastern Christianity on the countryside. Márta Nagy confirmed this, when she said, that the iconostasis in Hajdúdorog was probably built by Miklós Jankovicz, and Szilveszter Terdik proved this statement based on archival sources, suggesting that borders between Orthodox and Greek Catholic art were not so sharp.¹⁸

The four sacrifices from the Old Testament are rare scenes from this time, especially under the Worship Tier, although they were depicted starting from the seventeenth century.¹⁹ Representations that appeared later were per se extraordinary, and could be found in Szerencs and Abod in Greek Catholic iconostases during this time.²⁰ The main difference about them is that in Abod we can see scenes from the life of the saint whose picture was over this painting, and this phenomenon is more common.²¹ Their closest parallel is the iconostasis of Jankovicz in Miskolc, where Anton Küchelmeister painted scenes from the Old and the New Testament under the Worship Tier.²²

Comparing the two lateral doors in Szerencs and Abod we can say that all of the doors have a similar format, every door depicts the Archangels, but in Szerencs Mi-



Fig. 10. The Last supper, detail of the iconostase in Szerencs

chael is on the northern side and in Abod he is on the southern. In Szerencs the angels are standing alone, while in Abod they were painted in a scene (Gabriel in the Annunciation and Michael as defeating the dragon).²³ Over these doors are heads of cherubs in both places, but they are in the doors in Abod, and in a separated field *over* the doors in Szerencs. The same solution as for the latter is visible in Miskolc too. The format of the Last Supper over the Royal Door in Szerencs and in Abod are similar. The carvings are more classicist in Abod, enough to watch the importance of the colour white, and the ribbon-ornaments. The carvings in Szerencs (the vegetal ornaments, leafs and roses) refer to characteristics of the late-baroque and rococo periods, and their plasticity is more obtrusive than in Abod. Last but not least, it is visible that the achievements of Jankovicz (from Miskolc and probably from Hajdúdorog) had an effect on both iconostases, but sooner in Szerencs, and later in Abod.

Jankovicz's effect is clearly visible in Szerencs. The Prophets in *tondos*, and their pyramidal line is representative. This is present in Abod, but in a simplified way. The composition of „God's Eye” was formed by Jankovicz mostly with silver clouds around the Eye and the triangle (for example in Pest, Eger – and in Hajdúdorog). These clouds are carved in Szerencs and Abod, too.

Due to similarity the name of Péter Padits, the master of the iconostasis in Abod and follower of Jankowicz arose as the possible carver of the iconostasis in Szerencs too.²⁴ However, based on the above mentioned details we do not think that this theory is likely to be true. Their origin was the same, but the iconostasis in Szerencs is closer to the art of Jankovicz than to that of Padits – both in style and time: the iconostasis in Szerencs and in Hajdúdorog were both built around 1799, according to the research of Szilveszter Terdik.²⁵ The iconostasis in Abod is provincial, while this work in Szerencs is subtly elaborated, which can be seen by observing the upper part of them only. The placement of the Prophets in Szerencs is also found to have been a result of careful composition, while in Abod these *tondos* simply follow the line of the triumphal arch. The volutes around the “God's Eye” in Szerencs (and in the demolished Orthodox iconostasis in Tokaj) have fine vaults, which are on the other hand hard and angled in Abod. The same rays around the cross can be found in Jankovicz's Orthodox iconostases in Eger and Miskolc, the Orthodox work in Tokaj, and in the Greek Catholic iconostases in Hajdúdorog and Szerencs as well – but not so in Abod. Another important difference between Abod and Szerencs is that in the upper part in the iconostasis, in the Cross in Szerencs and Hajdúdorog Christ is depicted in accord-



Fig. 11. Ornaments, detail of the iconostasis in Szerencs

ance with the Orthodox traditions, his legs not stabbed through. Considering all these details, the relationship between the iconostases in Szerencs and Abod is their source, but not their master. According to archival sources, the painter of the iconostasis in Szerencs was one of the painters in Hajdúdorog, Mátyás Hittner.

The structure and carvings of the iconostasis of Szerencs in time and style is much closer to the art of Miklós Jankovicz than to that of Péter Padits. The style of the entire work is well-balanced and harmonic.

The Icons of the Iconostasis in Szerencs

I. Pictures under the WORSHIP TIER

- Northern side:* 5. The Fratricide of Cain
6. Prophet Elias in Mount Carmel
Southern side: 7. Melchizedek
8. The Sacrifice of Isaac

II. WORSHIP TIER

- Northern side:* 1. Bishop Saint Nicholas
2. Theotokos with Child
Southern side: 3. Christ, our Master
4. Koimesis
Royal Door, northern wing: 10. Jacob's dream
southern wing: 11. Moses in front of the burning bush
(over them 15. The Last Supper)
Deacons' (or Angels') Doors, North Door: 9. Archangel Saint Michael
(over it 13. Cherub's Head)
South Door: 12. Archangel Gabriel
(over it 14. Cherub's Head)

III. Tier of Feasts

- Northern side:* 16. The Birth of the Theotokos, 18. Presentation in the Church,
19. Annunciation, 20. The Procession of the Holy Ghost, 21.
The Ascension of the Theotokos
Southern side: 22. Adoration of the Magi, 23. The Baptism, 24. The Transfigu-
ration, 25. The Entry of Christ in Jerusalem, 26. The Resurrec-
tion, 27. The Ascension of Christ
In the middle: 40. Christ Enthroned

IV. TIER OF THE APOSTLES

- Northern side:* 28. Saint Thomas, 29. Saint Simon, 30. Saint Luke the Evan-
gelist, 31. Saint Bartholomew, 32. Saint Mark the Evangelist,
33. Saint Peter
Southern side: 34. Saint Paul, 35. Saint Jakob, 36. Saint John the Evangelist, 37.
Saint Matthew the Evangelist, 38. Saint Philip, 39. Saint Andrew
In the middle: 40. Christ Enthroned

V. TIER OF PROPHETS

- 41-52. Prophets (45. Moses, 47. David)
In the middle: The composition of „God's Eye”

VI. Crucifixion-group WITH DEESIS

Northern side: 53. Saint John the Evangelist

Southern side: 54. Theotokos

In the middle: Christ in the Cross

Notes

- 1 Péter Takács, "Szerencs története," (History of Szerencs) in *Szerencs monográfiája* (*Monograph on Szerencs*), ed. Sándor Frisnyák and András Gál (Szerencs–Debrecen: Szerencs Város Önkormányzata, 2005), 108 (71–154); János Barna and László Darvas, "Szerencs," in *Szerencs és vidéke. Magyar városok monográfiája IX. (Szerencs and its Surrounding. Monograph on Hungarian Towns IX)*, ed. János Barna (Budapest: Magyar Városok Monográfiája Kiadóhivatala, 1930), 16 (12–29). Around 1730 other Ruthen families were settled down in Szerencs from the Aspremont–estate, see at: Gyula Viga, "Szerencs néprajzához," (Essay on the Ethnography of Szerencs) in *Szerencs monográfiája*, ed. Frisnyák and Gál, 2005, 191–220.
- 2 There is another tradition about the parish, what says that the Greek Catholic parish in Szerencs was already existed in 1626, as a filiale of Bodrogolaszi, see at the *canonica visitatio* in 1940 (GKPL I. 1. b. *Görög Katolikus Püspöki Levéltár [Archiv of the Greek Cathlic Episcopate, Nyíregyháza], Püspöki Levéltár, Canonica Visitatio, Protocollumok I.1.b. Szerencs, 1940.*) But it is likely that they came to Szerencs at the time of settlement of Julianna Rákóczi. Barna and Darvas, 1930, 20; József Siska, "A szerencsi görög katolikus egyház," (The Greco-Catholic Church in Szerencs) in *Tokaj és Hegyalja XVII. A hatvanéves Dr. Boros László tiszteletére. A Tokaji Városvédők és Szépítők Egyesületének kiadványa (Tokaj and Hegyalja XVII. Essays in Honour of László Boros Dr. Published by the Tokaj Public Association for Town Protection and Embellishment)* (Tokaj–Debrecen, 1996, further on Siska, 1996), 235; Takács, 2005, 108–109; Csaba Csorba, "Szerencs műemlékei," (National Monuments in Szerencs) in *Szerencs monográfiája*, ed. Frisnyák and Gál, 2005, 160.
- 3 *Magyarország történeti helységnévtára. Zemplén megye (1773–1808) I–II. (Historical Gazetteer of Hungary: County Zemplén [1773–1808])*, ed. János Barsi (Budapest: KSH, 1998) Vol. II. 378; István Udvari, "Adatok a hegyaljai görög katolikusokról," (Data on Greek-Catholics in Hegyalja) *Posztbizánci Közlemények* 1 (1994): 137–144; István Bendász and István Koi, *A Munkácsi Görögkatolikus Egyházmegye lelkészsegeinek 1792. évi katalógusa (Catalogue of the Parishes from the Greek-Catholic Diocese in Munkács, in the Year of 1792)* (Nyíregyháza: Szent Atanáz Görög Katolikus Hittudományi Főiskola, 1994), 99.
- 4 Viga, 2005, 205. The *canonica visitatio* in 1940 calls the previous building (before 1799) chapel. It also tells us, that this church was renovated in 1888 and 1911. (GKPL, I.1.b. Szerencs, 1940.)
- 5 Udvari, 1994, 140.
- 6 István Genthon, *Magyarország műemlékjegyzéke (Catalogue of National Monuments in Hungary)* Vol. 109. (1976) 237; Csorba, 2005, 160. Another opinion suggests, that the church was completed in 1792, and the iconostase in 1799. Siska, 1996, 236. Siska says, that the building of the stonechurch was initiated by the parish priest György Bányay (In sources his name is *András Bányay*!, see in the notes of

- the Greek Catholic historian, Antal Hodinka: *Hodinka–hagyaték*, Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Kézirattár Ms. 4812/17) A letter from 1798 says, that the church in Szerencs was newly built („*neoerecta ecclesia Szerencsiensis*”), and tells about the expected consecration of it: „*Dilecte fili. V:A:De. Intellecto eo, quod neoerectae ecclesiae Szerentsiensis sanctuarium ad eum statum perductum habeatur, ut divina officia in eodem condecenter peragi possint, d. v. proinde praesentibus facultatem elargior praeattactum ecclesiae sanctuarium affuturo die dominico seu in festo obdormitionis beatae virginis Mariae solemniter benedicandi. Siquidem autem benedictio haec nomini partialis et non totius ecclesiae esset, insuper vero miscui parrochiani Szerentsienses in sumptibus adeo exhausti haberentur, ut nequo ad perfectionem praeattactam ecclesiam perducere queant, idcirco d.v. pro hac vice absque desumptione alias consuetae aut cujuscumque taxae solius dumtaxat proitu et reditu vecturae sibi praestandae beneficio contantebitur. In reliquo stb. reddictus pater Andreas episcopus mp. Unghvarini 19. Aug. 1798.*” (From the protocols of the vicedeanry of Hegyalja, see the transcription at: *Hodinka–hagyaték*, MTA Kézirattár Ms. [Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Manuscripts] 4815/14.)
- 7 Siska, 1996, 236; *Tokaj és környéke. Borsod–Abaúj–Zemplén megye képes műemlékjegyzéke (Tokaj and its Surrounding. Illustrated Catalogue of National Monuments from County Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén)* ed. József Szabadfalvi and Miklós Cseri (Miskolc: Alföldi Ny. – Dózsa Ny., 1992), 31; Csorba, 2005, 160.
 - 8 Siska, 1996, 238; Csorba, 2005, 161.
 - 9 Estimation by the *canonica visitatio* in 1940, where they tell us the proportions of the church. They also inform us, that the parish planned to erect a new building in the 1930s. „*The stonechurch has brick–ceiling and slate–roof. The tower is 25 metres high, its roof is covered with zinc... The nave is 15 metres long and 8 metres wide inside. The sanctuary is 5 metres long and 7 metres wide. The ceiling is 7 metres high. The inner walling of the building is restored, but obsoleted. The plaster outside is peeled of and need to be repaired everywhere, like the stonefence around the church... The parish wants to build a new church for a long while, but it could not achieve that.*” (GKPL, I.1.b. Szerencs, 1940.)
 - 10 Christ with globe in his hand reflects the effect of the western–european iconographical tradition. Bernadett Puskás, *Kelet és Nyugat határán. Ikonok a Kárpát–vidéken a 15–18. században (On the Borders of East and West. Icons in the Kárpát Region from the 15th and 18th Centuries)* Catalogue (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, 1991), 11.
 - 11 The Hungarian inscription of the book in Christ’s hand (*Jöjjetek / Atyám– / nak áldot / tai, bírátok a vi– // lág kez– / detétől / készített / országot*) refers a latter repainting, item the inscription of the book in the hand of Christ Enthroned (*BÉKE VELETEK*). Under the characters there is no mark to the primary inscriptions. The cross, which stands at the top of the iconostase, with an old church slavonic abbreviation (IHLII) suggests that the aboriginal inscriptions were also in old church slavonic.
 - 12 Siska, 1996, 239.
 - 13 The meaning of the composition „God’s Eye” is that God is One, who sees everything. Csorba, 2005, 160. It is the symbol of God and the Trinity. In baroque–era it also refers to the heavenly love and providence.

- 14 Miklós Jankovicz (Νικόλαος Ιωάννου Ταληδóρος) made the most monumental Orthodox iconostases in Hungary at the end of the eighteenth century. He was born in Naxos, but he moved to Eger, where he opened his workshop. At the making of the iconostases in Eger, Pest and Miskolc he worked with the painter Anton Küchhelmeister together. Márta Nagy, "Ortodox egyházművészet Magyarországon," (Orthodox Ecclesiastical Art in Hungary) in *A keleti kereszténység Magyarországon. Kisebbségkutatás könyvek (Eastern Christianity in Hungary. Books on Researching Minority Groups)*, ed. Toso Doncsev and Lajos Szóke (Budapest: Lucidus, 2007), 113–114. The similar details (the rich vegetal ornaments in the upper part of the iconostasis, the God's Eye—composition with its rays, the clouds around it etc.) suggest that at least one workshop made these two iconostases. The Orthodox one in Tokaj was never finished. Its scaffolding was made at the beginning of the nineteenth century in the Chapel of the Russian Winedeeling Commission (Orosz Borvásárló Bizottság). In the twentieth century its two „essential icons” (the Sovereign) with the Holy Door and the two Deacons' Doors and the cross from it was moved to Nyíregyháza. There is an archiv photo of it at Márta Nagy, *A magyarországi görög diaszpóra egyházművészeti emlékei I. (The Art Objects of the Greek Diaspora in Hungary I.)* (Debrecen: Kossuth Egyetemi Kiadó, 1998), 210–211.
- 15 Nagy, 1998, 163, 194.
- 16 The photos of them are in *Házad ékessége. Göröghatolikus templomok, ikonok, ikonosztázok Magyarországon (The Ornament of Your House. Greek-Catholic Churches, Icons and Iconostasis in Hungary)* ed. László Puskás (Nyíregyháza: Görög Katolikus Hittudományi Főiskola, 1991), 9, 18, 71, 84.
- 17 Márta Nagy: *Ortodox ikonosztázionok Magyarországon (Orthodox Iconostasis in Hungary)* (Debrecen, 1994), 95, 105, 117, 135.
- 18 Márta Nagy, *Görög egyházművészeti emlékek Magyarországon – Μνημεία της εκκλησιαστικής τέχνης των Ελλήνων στην Ουγγαρία (Objects of the Greek Ecclesiastical Art in Hungary)*, transl. Erik Haupt (Debrecen: Országos Görög Önkormányzat, 1996), 17; Szilveszter Terdik, „...a mostani világnak ízlése, és a rítusnak módja szerint” – *Adatok a magyarországi görög katolikusok művészetéhez. Collectanea Athanasiana I. Studa 5. (Data for the Greek-Catholic Art in Hungary)*, ed. Péter Szabó and Tamás Véghseő (Nyíregyháza: Szent Atanáz Görög Katolikus Hittudományi Főiskola, 2011), 51–53. As Terdik says, according to their contract, Jankovicz had to use the elements of the iconostases of Karlóca (carvings, construction), Ungvár (distribution of icons) and his own work in Pest (Royal Door) as models for the iconostasis in Hajdúdorog.
- 19 B. Puskás, 1991, 9. Melchizedek is on the icon of Pielgrzymka for example (in the Museum of Łańcut).
- 20 The sacrifice of Isaac is for example is also on the Orthodox iconostasis in Békés, where the scene was painted in the northern Deacons' Door. Similar painting is visible in Szentes (circa 1785), over the northern Deacons' Door. Nagy, 1998, 162–167. But these icons are not in the same place, as in Szerencs, and their pair is the Oldtestamental Trinity (God's visitation at Abraham), which scene is not in the iconostasis in Szerencs. The closest Orthodox parallel is the iconostasis in Miskolc (Trinity Church), where The sacrifice of Isaac was located also *under* the Worship

- Tier, in the southern part of it. The other southern painting is Moses with the Tablets, while on the northern part in this row is Moses and the burning bush. Nagy, 1998, 180–181.
- 21 L. Puskás, 1991, 71. An earlier example for this is the Greek Catholic iconostasis in Sátoraljaújhely, which had changed its title from Saint Nicholas to Koimesis. Therefore the iconostasis was repainted. On the northern side the Worship Tier depicts the Ascension of the Theotokos, and under it the Koimesis. Further see at Bernadett Puskás, “A történelmi munkácsi egyházmegye ikonfestészete a 18. században – Újabb adatok a vezető mesterek tevékenységével kapcsolatban,” *Athanasiana* (2001) Nr. 14. 153–162.
 - 22 Nagy, 1994, 134–135.
 - 23 Gyula Hornyák, *Galvács és a Rakaca-tó környéke (Galvács and the Surrounding of Lake Rakaca)* (Galvács: Galvács Önkormányzat – Galvács Öröksége Kulturális Egyesület, 2003), 132. Hornyák says that the iconostasis in Abod was made by Péter Padits in 1818, and was repainted by Lajos Dobrovolszky in 1844. The Greek Catholic iconostasis in Abaújszántó and an Orthodox one in Kecskemét are also the works of Padits, who was the follower of Jankovicz. Nagy, 1996, 17.
 - 24 Bernadett Puskás, *A görög katolikus egyház művészete a történelmi Magyarországon. Hagyomány és megújulás (Art of the Greek-Catholic Church in the Historical Hungary. Tradition and Renewal)* (Budapest – Veszprém: Szent Atanáz Görög Katolikus Hittudományi Főiskola, 2008), 259.
 - 25 Terdik, 2011, 50, 65.

The Social Circle of Miklós Barabás at the Inception of his Career

Zsuzsanna Szegedy-Maszák

In August of 1816, at six years of age Miklós Barabás arrived in Nagyenyed (today Aiud, Romania) to enroll in the town's esteemed Calvinist school. After having spent more than a decade at the school he resolved to take his leave in early 1828, acting in part in response to the encouragement of others, in spite of the fact that he had consistently been given good marks as a student and had won the support of his professors. In all probability his decision was influenced by the commissions he had received before Christmas the previous year to paint miniature portraits on ivory, for which he had to travel to Koslárd (today Coslariu, Romania). As to why he decided, at only seventeen years of age and without any financial support from his family, to devote himself to painting, Barabás offered the following explanation: "The Hussar officers, in fact others as well who had travelled a little bit, were always telling me what echoed in my ears later: »Why are you wasting your time at school? [...] You want to be a priest in some little village? Or a chancellery clerk who has to starve for the first 12-15 years of his career?« And as I myself found happiness only in drawing, the determination to take this up exclusively fully matured in me."¹

The recent emergence of a sketchbook dating from the months when Barabás decided to make art his profession and began to work *officially* as a painter is of considerable significance to the scholarship on his art and career. Individual pages from this sketchbook had been familiar to art historians for many decades, as they constitute part of the collection of the Hungarian National Gallery. However, their connections to one another and to this newly found sketchbook have only recently become apparent.² The sketchbook's importance is multi-faceted: in addition to offering early examples of his budding artistic skill, it is the sole example of a method Barabás mentions in his autobiography, a method that he soon abandoned, namely doing sketches of portraits in a small notebook on the basis of which he later made final versions. The sketchbook also modifies somewhat our image of how his art evolved and confirms the opinion according to which "his glossy manner, which generalizes features, is only an adopted mannerism."³ In other words, these early examples depict the sitters without traces of idealization, but rather with strongly marked features. In an earlier essay I offered a survey of the sketchbook from this perspective.⁴ Here I examine it from another perspective, the significance of which is primarily that of cultural history. The title page, according to which the "portrait collection" was done at the end of 1827 and the begin-

ning of 1828, indicates that the sketchbook, this particularly personal, visual memory, provides an account of the people with whom Barabás met and who exerted an influence on the development of his life and career at this formative time.

Given its format, one can treat the sketchbook as a kind of visual diary that offers a chronological survey of the people with whom Barabás came into contact at the end of 1827 and the beginning of 1828. The main steps of this kind of investigation are the identification of those depicted, examination of their social roles, and consideration of the relationships they had with Barabás. The first part of the notebook, which originally must have contained around 60 pages, is filled with images of his fellow schoolmates from Nagyenyed. The last such portrayal is found on page 23. It depicts István Vizi, a figure whom Barabás mentioned repeatedly in his autobiography. The second, larger portion of the notebook is comprised of depictions of the commissioners in Nagyszeben (today Sibiu, Romania).

In the period in question Nagyenyed, like Kolozsvár (today Cluj, Romania) and Székelyudvarhely (today Odorheiu Secuiesc, Romania), was considered one of the most important cultural centers in Transylvania, primarily due to its large student population. There is substantial literature on the city's importance with respect to the cultural history of the region.⁵ The most exhaustive survey is given by the publication titled *Nagyenyedi diákok 1662–1848* (Students of Nagyenyed, 1662–1848), written by Zsigmond Jakó and István Juhász and published in 1979. In the years during which Barabás attended the school in Nagyenyed the institute's rector was Dr. György Barisz, but the professor of law, Károly Szász, exerted a much larger influence on the student population. When he delivered his inaugural speech in 1822 he not only championed progressive ideas, but, more importantly, he spoke in Hungarian. Professor Szász undoubtedly had a profound impact on all his students, and it is not surprising that Barabás mentioned him in his autobiography and depicted him on the quodlibet he made in 1826. The reforms at the Nagyenyed school that have been ascribed to Professor Szász include the introduction of principles of instruction championed by Pestalozzi (teaching by demonstration), less use of Latin, and the goal of educating future citizens whose progressive mentality would enable them to shoulder tasks important to national and political life.⁶ The first generation of his students – to which Barabás and his peers (several of whose faces appear in the sketchbook) belonged – were undoubtedly aware of their teacher's role as a reformer.

With one exception, the names of the students whose depictions appear on the pages of the sketchbook can all be found in the list of students in the aforementioned monograph about the college, which contains the names of students in the upper years (so-called *toga students*).⁷ This *Matricula studiosorum* gives the names in their Latin forms, followed by the student's place of birth and the year in which his name was included in the list.⁸

The depictions in the sketchbook bear numerous affinities: all of the figures appear in three quarter profile wearing a vest, with buttoned jacket and a neck-tie. The small differences include the manner in which the tie has been tied (Károly Incze has an actual bow) or the quality of their attire (Dávid Székely has a ruffled shirt and an ornate tie), and Sándor Kováts appears to be bearing some kind of mark on his suit. Their various coiffures also do not indicate a compliance with strict orders concerning

the attire of students. *Kadri's* hair – a student we know only by nickname – is distinctly disheveled. The manner of execution is very similar: with the exception of the depictions of István László and Dávid Székely, Barabás placed considerably more emphasis on the face than on the rest of the model's figure. The sitters all appear to turn their gazes towards the viewer. Were they to exist as separate pages, their relationships to one another would be beyond doubt. One may venture to make the remark that these drawings are not preliminary sketches for later portraits, but were done as exercises in drawing faces and therefore bear the signs of experiments Barabás undertook to satisfy his own curiosity and explore new compositional possibilities. As such, they were not the earliest examples. We know from his autobiography that Barabás had made drawings of his peers at age fourteen. It is an enticing thought to wonder whether these models were at the time of their depiction just as significant, as representatives of the student population of the college, as those figures who later constituted the subject of the bulk of Barabás' career as a painter, a kind of national pantheon from which no one who had a leading role in art, science or politics was absent.

Similarly to the *Matricula studiosorum*, in which representatives of later generations inscribed notes concerning their predecessors⁹ (thus Barabás became “sculptor celebris”), the sketchbook pages depicting students also contain remarks concerning their later professions. These remarks, as well as the names, information regarding their families, and professions presumably date from the same time as the decorative title page and the numbers found on the lower right corners of the pages, all of which were done in ink. Undoubtedly they too were penned by Barabás, as there are personal references among them, yet it is also certain that these observations were made after the 1848 revolution, as they sometimes refer to the roles the people depicted played in the war. In light of this, the cataloguing nature of the title page, the numbering and the subsequent annotations bear affinities with the register of works he kept between 1830 and 1893, as well as the autobiography he wrote, a product of his inclination to self-interpretation and self-reflection, the object of which was to construct an image for subsequent generations.¹⁰

Before taking a closer look at the students Barabás depicted, one should note the assertion made by Jákó and Juhász, namely that the student population of Nagyenyed consisted of youths from the most diverse financial backgrounds: “As a collective the student population was the most liberated micro-society in the Principality of Transylvania, within the Habsburg Empire.”¹¹ Most of Barabás' peers remained in the region after completing their educations. István László was killed in 1848 in Zalatna (today Zlatna, Romania) by Romanians who participated in the resistance against the revolution. After the mining town of Zalatna was burned down, the fleeing population (about 700 people) was massacred on October 24th in the neighboring village. The incident came to be one of the most reported events of the Hungarian-Romanian clashes during the revolution. The college record and Barabás' inscription indicate that Dávid Székely served as a guardsman, only later to become a country commissioner. Others left Transylvania. Péter Bod, for example, later became a chancellery scribe in Vienna. Nothing proves better that the remarks penned at the bottom of the pages were written by Barabás than a quotation from Károly Incze, claiming that “He was in the habit of saying: *Little Károly is not pretty, but pleasant.*”



Fig. 1. Miklós Barabás: Lujza Bethlen. Private collection. 18,7×11,8 cm. 1827

Among the students, a person who was in all probability outside of the school's circle appears on page 13. Albert Baricz is not listed among the students, and his attire suggests that he was in the military. In his autobiography Barabás often makes mention of having moved in circles outside of the school, which included meetings with Hussar officers. In light of this it is not impossible that the sheet depicting Captain Count Wolkstein holding his helmet – part of the National Gallery's collection¹² – was originally part of this series. In his case there was much more emphasis placed on the depiction of his attire, which might be related to its distinctive feature, namely that it was signed and dated by the artist. This detail and the workmanship suggest that the image of Count Wolkstein is not a sketch, but a finished work. Barabás learned the method of making preliminary drawings – or as he refers to them, *picture-sketches* – from János Szabó, who “first drew his models in a *coarse* manner in a sketchbook, then treated them in a

neater way on a separate sheet of paper later. I too imitated this method in Szeben, but gave up this practice later in Kolozsvár, as I saw that during copying some of the resemblance is always lost, and I also regarded it as pointless pain and a great loss of time.”¹³ However, the fact that the drawing remained in the possession of the artist until the end of his life speaks against the assumption that it is a finished work. There are two further images of men from the military world in the National Gallery collection that might also once have been part of this sketchbook: Captain Mitisz¹⁴ and Lieutenant Colonel Mikics (Mukics).¹⁵

Before Christmas of 1827 Barabás travelled to Koslárd, taking with him sheets of ivory in order to paint the miniature portraits of Róza Bethlen, Lujza Bethlen, the Hussar lieutenant Somogyi and Zsigmond Barcsay. The chronology of the sketchbook is somewhat complicated by the fact that mingled among the portraits of students and soldiers stationed in Nagyenyed are the sketches for the Koslárd miniatures. These are: a Saxon landowner named Fronius from Koslárd;¹⁶ Hitsch, who was the tutor of Fronius' children;¹⁷ Mrs. Miske, daughter of Fronius (later Mrs. Hitsch);¹⁸ a Hussar lieutenant named Somogyi, fiancé of count Róza Bethlen;¹⁹ and Lujza Bethlen, later the wife of Zsigmond Barcsay.²⁰ A small version of the image József Miske's wife (née Karolina Fronius) is possibly also included in the quodlibet Barabás made at age sixteen.²¹ Another sitter, Zsigmond Barcsay, is listed among the managing members of the Transyl-

vanian Museum Association in the 1868 yearbook. The page numbered 21, which is still part of the intact sketchbook, portrays his wife, Lujza Bethlen, and was done in Koslárd. She is depicted with an intricate coiffure, wearing a shawl and a choker-like velvet ribbon from which hangs a floriform medallion. It is uncertain whether page 23, which depicts István Vizi, was also done in Koslárd (as he travelled there with Barabás) or back in Nagyenyed in the first days of January when they returned.

As previously noted, Vizi is a recurring figure in Barabás' autobiography.²² From this vital source we learn that Vizi and Barabás made copies together from the two volume edition of the *Musée Napoleon Album*. In 1825 they entered a drawing competition which they both won, and in the early 1830s they both studied at the Vienna Academy of Fine Arts (having applied together, they both tried to enter the class of Karl Gselhofer).²³ Their fates were intertwined for years, and it is therefore not surprising that at least on one occasion Barabás depicted himself alongside Vizi on the same painting.²⁴ Vizi, the college's other talented artist, was at once a companion, an aid and a rival to Barabás. It becomes evident from the autobiographical references regarding Vizi that Barabás did not consider him particularly talented, nor did he think much of his "servile behavior" at the Vienna Academy.²⁵ After his studies in Vienna, Vizi returned to Nagyenyed and worked primarily as a wood and copperplate engraver, becoming the supervisor of the college's printing press. In the depiction of Vizi found in the Barabás sketchbook Vizi alone appears with an attribute, an artist's crayon held in his right hand.

After Christmas Barabás spent a few days in Nagyenyed, only to leave again on January 5th for Nagyszeben, as he writes "with 250 forints in my pocket, respectably equipped with salon attire and undergarments." The English traveler Charles Colville Frankland, who passed through Nagyszeben in March of 1827, described the city in the following manner: „Hermannstadt is a large, dirty straggling town, the mud being half axle deep in the streets. [...] Its walls are now falling into decay, and still bear marks of barbarian violence and prowess in the shape of shot holes which are more carefully preserved by the good citizens than the walls, which show such honourable records.”²⁶ This unfavorable description of the town notwithstanding, Nagyszeben was regarded as a blossoming cultural center, which was due primarily to the enthusiasm for culture on



Fig. 2. Miklós Barabás: István Vizi. Private collection. 18,7×11,8 cm. 1827



Fig. 3. Miklós Barabás: Miss Haas. Private collection. 18,7×11,8 cm. 1828

the part of the city's aristocrats and middle class citizens. Examples of this enthusiasm include the opening of the town's first theater in 1769 in Count Möringer's own home, or the launching of the newspaper entitled *Theater Wochenblatt* and the building of the first bookshop in 1778, financed by Martin Hochmeister (1740–1789). Of course from the point of view of Barabás, the most significant event was the opening of the Brukenthal Museum on February 25th, 1817. According to the 1818 census the overall population of Nagyszeben – not including the military personnel stationed there – was more than 12 thousand. The major role played by the town in the region is indicated by the visit Duke Maximilian paid in the spring of 1826. The theater, which had burned down in 1826, had been rebuilt and was reopened the following year.²⁷ Thus at the time of Barabás' arrival in early 1828 the town was the political, military and cultural center of the region.

Barabás' first model in Nagyszeben was a flag-bearer by the name of Dandorf. Their meeting is narrated in great detail in the painter's autobiography. According to this account, the soldier addressed him as "portraitist" on the day of his arrival to the city at a masquerade ball. The following day Barabás drew a picture of Dandorf, as well as of his friend and fellow flag-bearer, a man named Kovács. The sheet bearing the image of the former is in the National Gallery, while a depiction of the second flag-bearer is found in the sketchbook. To be a flag-bearer, or a "Fähnrich" soldier, was once an honored position in the military, but by the 19th century it had come to denote one of the lowest ranks among officers. Barabás had undoubtedly attended the masquerade ball in the hopes of making acquaintances and subsequently getting commissions. However, he may well not have been aware that dancing and attending balls were at the time a hotly debated subject in Nagyszeben from the perspective of morality and health,²⁸ a debate in which even the local doctors participated – among them the *Stadtphysikus* who, due to the possibility of over exertion and accidents, advised against it. Nagyszeben society was divided on the matter, and the debate reached the point that certain "hot-blooded" dances were prohibited in 1826.²⁹ From this perspective it is not uninteresting that the first family in Nagyszeben each of the members of which Barabás depicted was that of the dance master Leissch (father, mother, daughter and son all appear on the pages of the sketchbook).

Soon the four members of the Benigni family also sat for the artist: the depictions of Louis, Heinrich and Ida are all in the National Gallery collection (the drawings of the two men have been trimmed, so the original numbers are missing), but the portrait of Clarisse remains to be found. Father to these grown children was the Austrian-born Joseph Benigni (1782–1849), who had been stationed in Nagyszeben from his previous post in Vienna in 1802. Here he had been a field-draftsman at the military headquarters. Later he was appointed secretary to the high generalship. In 1830 he was promoted to be auditor. Following his retirement, in the last decade and a half of his life he devoted his time entirely to scholarly work, writing numerous works on the history and geography of Transylvania.³⁰ His imposing private library later became part of the collection of the University Library in Cluj.³¹ It is a curious fact that two pamphlets of his series entitled *Versuch über das siebenbürgische Costüm* were illustrated by József Neuhauser; in turn these compositions were later copied by Ferenc Neuhauser, from whom Barabás briefly took drawing classes in Nagyszeben.³² The two Benigni sons presumably occupied important official positions in the town. Louis' name can be found in the list of councilors in the Officers' Registry of the Principality of Transylvania, as court scribe of Talmács (today Tâlmăciu, Romania).³³ Barabás' autobiography sheds light on the social interaction that accompanied the making of a portrait: "I became acquainted with the family of the war secretary named Benigni and I drew likenesses of his two sons and two daughters: Louis, Heinrich, Clarisse and Ida. Every week they held a music quartet [...]. I was a welcome guest in their home, they held very refined conversations which had a very pleasant influence on me, and since none of them spoke Hungarian I was inclined to speak only German, which was to my great advantage."³⁴

In the following paragraph of his recollection Barabás writes, "to this day the portraits of Mr. Haas, the superintendant of the museum and library founded by Bruckenthal, as well as his daughters are among my drawings."³⁵ Johann Haas was the superintendant of the museum between 1821 and 1828.³⁶ The drawing depicting him is the property of the National Gallery,³⁷ and the depiction of one of the two Haas girls is contained in the sketchbook. Her sister was probably on the now missing 35th sheet. The young girl wears a double row of pearls and pearl earrings, and also has a crown of hair decorated with a bow, all clearly expressions of her social standing. Barabás continues his recollection: "I drew the likeness of many notabilities, among them Countess Mrs. Nemes, Baron Joseph Bruckenthal, General Mesmacher and others. [...] I still have the majority of these drawings in my possession."³⁸ He refers to the commissions made in Nagyszeben exclusively as "drawings"; there is no mention of ever having made miniature portraits. Today the sheet bearing the depiction of General Mesmacher/Mösmarcher is in the National Gallery,³⁹ while the location of the image of Mrs. Nemes is unknown. I am unaware of the whereabouts of the depiction of Joseph Brukenenthal, but it is possible that the names Joseph and Michael have been mixed up, as at the time J[ohann] M[ichael] Josef von Brukenenthal (1781–1859) was considered the head of the family. In his will Samuel Brukenenthal named him director of the museum's supervisory foundation. A work in the National Gallery is catalogued as a depiction of Michael Brukenenthal (as the inscription on the drawing states). Michael, however, was the disinherited son of Samuel.⁴⁰

Alongside the town's nobility ("Baron Rosenfeld Zekelius" is possibly Károly Czekelius von Rosenfeld⁴¹, Baron Standa⁴²), several soldiers were included in the sketchbook (Wagner aide-de-camp,⁴³ Stoll⁴⁴). The majority of those depicted, however, were representatives of the middle class. Their occupations were often indicated (in case of women and children the occupation of the head of the family, as for instance in the case of the daughter of a doctor by the name of Latzl).⁴⁵ Some are only remembered by their professions, like the bookseller assistant on sheet 42. We learned that the clerk named Czilich on sheet 35 was also a famous flutist.

Finally I would mention a separate likeness, which has been slipped into this sketchbook along the years. It is a depiction of the cantor of Csombord (today Ciumbrud, Romania). The paper itself appears to be different in quality. The watermark observable on the sketchbook pages is missing. The damage visible on the four corners suggests that this was once pasted into a notebook. The rendering of the model is somewhat rudimentary, and it is certain that it dates from this early period. Barabás writes in his autobiography that during his years at the college, "I often went over to Csombord [...] my last visit there was in the autumn of 1828."⁴⁶ Csombord lies on the left bank of the Maros (today Mures) River, about four kilometers east of Nagyenyed. The model's less static depiction, however, is noteworthy: the artists no doubt tried to reproduce the cantor's characteristic gestures as he explained or conducted. In this instance it is doubtful that the person depicted sat for Barabás. The depiction might instead be an example of a work Barabás made on the basis of his memories. Its placing in the notebook suggests that the notebook constituted something of a souvenir.

Further research into the identities of the people depicted, especially with the use of archival sources, is yet to be done, but on the basis of the detailed descriptions of the period found in the autobiography and the partial identification of the models it becomes clear that in these winter months Barabás came into contact with a fairly wide circle of Nagyszeben society. He associated with aristocrats, officials who played important roles in the city's life, representatives of the middle class, soldiers, and Hungarian and German speakers alike. The "highly refined conversations", the musical life (the Benigni family, the official named Zillich/Czilich) and the company of erudite gentlemen (Károly Czekelius von Rosenfeld was an ardent collector of antique documents⁴⁷) had an animating effect on the young Barabás, who had a predisposition for art and culture. This is particularly meaningful if one regards portrait-making as a form



Fig. 4. Miklós Barabás: Cantor from Csombord. Private collection. 15,2x11,1 cm. Between 1826–1828

of social intercourse: as we are not dealing with a quick business transaction, but rather should imagine Barabás creating these images in the models' homes and participating in conversations that deepened the acquaintanceships. The most telling example of this was his regular interaction with the Benigni family, but the fact that he often sketched all the members of a given family (including the small children) also suggests this. It is therefore hardly surprising that several decades later he remembered them, as attested by the later inscriptions found on the sheets and the narratives in the autobiography from the end of his life. The poise and refinements Barabás gained through his social interaction in Nagyenyed undoubtedly contributed to the commissions he received in Nagyszeben, as well as to his later successes and his career as an artist. As he notes with respect to the years he spent in the smaller city, "I acquired a manner and demeanor necessary outside of the college."⁴⁸

Notes

- 1 Miklós Barabás, *Önéletrajz (Autobiography)* (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Szépművészeti Céh, 1944), 46.
- 2 Zsuzsanna Szegedy-Maszák, "Barabás Miklós 1827–1828-ból származó *portrait gyűjteménye*," (*The Portrait Collection of Miklós Barabás from 1827–1828*) in *Eszmény és hasonlatosság. Tanulmányok és adatközlések Barabás Miklós születésének 200. évfordulójára (Ideal and Resemblance. Essays and Data in Honour of the 200th Birthday of Miklós Barabás)* ed. Mihály János (Csíkszereda–Sepsiszentgyörgy: Pallas–Akadémia Kiadó, Székely Nemzeti Múzeum, 2010), 7–56.
- 3 Gabriella Szvoboda D., *Barabás Miklós* (Budapest: Képzőművészeti, 1983), 34.
- 4 Szegedy-Maszák, 2010, 7–56.
- 5 Károly P. Szatmáry, *A gyulafehérvári-nagyenyedi Bethlen-főtanoda története (Bethlen College of Gyulafehérvár-Nagyenyed – History)* (Nagyenyed, 1868); Ferenc Váró, *Bethlen Gábor kollégiuma (The College of Gábor Bethlen)* (Nagyenyed, 1903).
- 6 Zsolt Trocsányi, *A nagyenyedi kollégium történetéhez (1831–1841) (Essay on the History of the College in Nagyenyed [1831–1841])* (Budapest, 1957); Zsigmond Jakó and István Juhász, *Nagyenyedi diákok 1662–1848 (Students in Nagyenyed 1662–1848)* (Bukarest: Kriterion könyvkiadó, 1979), 38.
- 7 The exception is a student indicated as "Kadri," which presumably signifies a nickname. Perhaps an András, whose last name begins with a "K," as in 1824 a student named András Kádas is listed in the *Matricula studiosorum*.
- 8 They are listed in the following formats: István László: Stephanus László. (Haerus) (from Nagyenyed, 1825); Elek Vajna: Alexius Vajna. (Pol.) (from Torda, 1824); Sándor Kováts: Alexander Kováts. Crudeliter interfectus... Ao. 1848. (from Patzolka (today Petelca, 1824); Dávid Székely: David Székely. (Miles, gardista) (1826); Péter Bod: Petrus Bod. (Doctor) (1824); Károly Incze: Carolus Intze. (from Uzon, 1826); István Vizi: Stephanus Vizi, litographus. (from Kézdivásárhely, 1822). Jakó and Juhász, 1979, 224–229. The portraits depicting István László, Elek Vajna, Sándor Kováts, Dávid Székely, Károly Incze and István Vizi are in the sketchbook, while the portrait of Péter Bod is in the Hungarian National Gallery (MNG 1937–3115).
- 9 Jakó and Juhász, 1979, 44.

- 10 On this subject see: Zsuzsanna Szegedy-Maszák, "Autobiography as Image as Text. Miklós Barabás," in *Text and Image in the 19–20th Century Art of Central Europe*, ed. Katalin Keserü and Zsuzsanna Szegedy-Maszák (Budapest: Eötvös University Press, 2010), 125–138.
- 11 Jakó and Juhász, 1979, 24.
- 12 MNG 1937–3086
- 13 Barabás, 1944, 54–55.
- 14 MNG 1937–3088
- 15 MNG 1937–3089
- 16 MNG 1937–3096
- 17 MNG 1937–3104
- 18 MNG 1937–3100
- 19 MNG 1937–3103
- 20 Private collection
- 21 Mihály János, "Arcképek a Quodlibetből," (Portraits from the Quodlibet) in János, 2010, 57–78.
- 22 István Vizi (Hódmezővásárhely, 1807 VIII. 20. – ?).
- 23 Gyula Fleischer, *Magyarok a bécsi Képzőművészeti Akadémián* (Budapest, 1938); Barabás, 1944, 29–30.
- 24 On the now lost oil painting made in 1830 in Vienna Barabás depicted himself drawing a landscape as István Vizi is leaning on a tree. He had given the painting to Vizi as a present. Barabás, 1944, 70.
- 25 Barabás, 1944, 64.
- 26 Charles Colville Frankland, *Travels to and from Constantinople in the Years 1827 and 1828*, Volume 1. 15.
- 27 Emil Sigerus, *Chronik der Stadt Hermannstadt: 1100–1929* (Sibiu: Editura Honterus, 1930), 37.
- 28 Nagyszeben of course was not the only city in which dancing denoted a debated subject matter, but it is not surprising that in a puritan, Saxon environment the division manifested itself in a more concrete manner, a consequence of which are numerous sources that have come down to us. Tailors, musicians and propagandist of body culture obviously had an interest in advocating dancing and its role in marrying off daughters and entertaining soldiers should also not be overlooked.
- 29 Lisa Fischer, *Eden hinter den Wäldern. Samuel von Brukenthal: Politiker, Sammler, Freimaurer in Hermannstadt/Sibiu* (Hermannstadt), 92.
- 30 His publications include *Statistische Skizze der siebenb. Militär-Grenze* (Hermannstadt, 1816); *Handbuch der Statistik und Geographie des Grossfürstenthums Siebenbürgen* (Hermannstadt, 1837); *Kurze Geschichte des Grossfürstenthums Siebenbürgen* (Hermannstadt, 1840). Between 1836 and 1849 he edited the journal *Siebenbürger Bote* and oversaw work for the periodical entitled *Transsilvania* for seven years (1833–1838), as well as publishing seven volumes of the *Siebenbürgischer Volksalendernek* (1843–1849).
- 31 Lajos György, *A Benigni-könyvtár (The Benigni Library)* vol. 155 of Erdélyi Tudományos Füzetek (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Múzeum–Egyesület, 1943), 4–5.

- 32 According to Gábor Bencsik “Scholarship often attributes these regrettably now lost illustrations to Ferenc Neuhauser, but according to a review published in the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* in 1807 (page 639) it is clearly stated that the originals were made by József [Neuhauser] and it was based on these that Ferenc made four pictures sometime around 1810.” http://ciganyokrol.blog.hu/2009/08/07/a_roma_integracio_programja_5 [viewed February 20th, 2011.]
- 33 *Erdélyi Nagyfejedelemség Tiszti Névtára 1848. évre* (*Office-Holders' Directory of the Grand Principality of Transylvania for the Year 1848*) (Kolozsvár), 84.
- 34 Barabás, 1944, 53–54.
- 35 Barabás, 1944, 54. Barabás recalls with affection: “Mister Haas, [...] was so kind to me that if I wanted to visit the gallery in the morning to practice drawing, he would give me the keys and come only much later.”
- 36 Gudron–Liane Ittu, author of the latest book on the history of the Brukenthal Museum, was kind enough to supply me with this information.
- 37 MNG 1937–3091
- 38 Barabás, 1944, 54.
- 39 MNG 1937–3090
- 40 MNG 1937–3087
- 41 MNG 1937–3092
- 42 Private collection, sheet no. 39.
- 43 Private collection, sheet no. 46.
- 44 Private collection, sheet no. 57.
- 45 Private collection, sheet no. 36.
- 46 Barabás, 1944, 57.
- 47 Gusztáv Mihály Hermann, “*Villa nostra olachalis* (Egy hamis oklevél utóéletéről),” (*Villa nostra olachalis [Afterlife of a Pseudo-Diploma]*) in *Tanulmányok a székelyföldi románság történetéről* (*Essays on the History of Romanians in Szeklerland*) (Csíkszereda, 1999), 34.
- 48 Barabás, 1944, 34.

Orientalising the Orient – Transforming Water-colours to a Lithographed Travel Album

Pictures by Count Iván Forray and Joseph Heicke

Ágnes Mészáros

Bewitched by a magic “oriental fever”, a large number of European artists and travellers paid visit to the exotic Near-East in the first half of the 19th century.¹ At that time, Egypt was still under Turkish occupation and formed part of the Ottoman Empire until 1914. However, the French invasion, hence an increasing French, as well as later British military and diplomatic presence provided a sort of security for travellers. Going on a journey to the Middle East or to the further Orient was not as common in Hungary² in the 19th century as it was in France or in Britain. “Oriental fever” existed,³ but did not penetrate Central Europe so deeply as the colonising nations. Only a very little number of Hungarians were able to afford such an expensive journey, and there were even less to leave a written report – often in the form of hasty, unedited travel notes – or pictures to the posterity.⁴

In the middle of January 1842, a small group of travellers set out from Vienna on about a half year long oriental journey to Egypt. The travelling company included count Iván Forray, a 25-year-old Hungarian nobleman, his friends – the likewise young count Artúr Batthyány⁵ and count Edmund Zichy⁶ –, a servant for each of them, and finally Joseph Heicke,⁷ a Viennese landscape painter.

Iván Forray (1817–1852) belonged to a rich noble family, so he was provided with the required financial support for such a special enterprise. He was born in Soborsin (today Săvârșin, Arad County, Romania) as a second child but only son to count András Forray and countess Júlia Brunszvik. He was given private education, studied humanities and law, and took final exams of both at the university in Pest. At the age of twenty-one, he automatically became member of the Upper House, he was also the representative of Szerém county, where a major part of his family’s landed property was located. Already before his oriental journey, in 1840, he went on a longer study tour to visit several Western European countries. Again, when coming back to Italy from Egypt, he (and one of his travel companions) did not return immediately to his home country, but travelled a bit about Switzerland, Germany (Rhine region) and in France.⁸ Forray brought back to Hungary a rich collection of marvellous oriental artworks, paintings, a monkey, a chamois and a 12–13 years old Arabic boy, Mabruh, whom he bought at a slave market to set him free, but the boy wanted to stay with him.⁹ After Iván’s death, it was her mother, countess Júlia Brunszvik who looked after the collection and put

it on display to guests and visitors at the family residence in Pest. When Iván arrived back home, he took over the management of the family estates. He applied most of the developments seen on his previous journeys in Europe. In 1851 he travelled to London to visit the Great Exhibition. He planned another oriental journey to Eastern India, but on his way back to Hungary in 1852, where he wanted to do the necessary preparations for his travel, he fell ill, and therefore had to stop in Vienna, where he died unexpectedly in a few days. He could not realise his dreams.¹⁰

As it has been already mentioned, the noble company hired a professional painter to record in pictures all memorable details of their journey: townscapes, local people dressed in folk costumes, special customs, remarkable sights and monuments, and so on. During their travel to and around Egypt, count Iván Forray himself also made numerous water-colours and pencil drawings on the spot, wrote a personal travel journal as well as letters to his family members in Hungary. He was “only” a naturally talented amateur painter, without professional artistic education; he did not attend the Art Academy in Vienna or in Munich. However, his pictorial records are worthwhile to be counted as high-quality artworks.

When the company returned home, Heicke began to paint oil canvases based on his sketches and drawings made on the spot. He had been participating regularly in the annual shows of both the Akademie der Bildenden Künste in Vienna, and the Pesti Műegylet (Art Association in Pest) since the mid-1830's; now, for about three years, he exhibited mainly oriental paintings.¹¹ Forray's drawings and water-colour paintings were only published 17 years later¹² by his mother, countess Júlia Brunszvik, seven years after Iván's premature death. It was Joseph Heicke whom the countess commissioned to draw lithographs after the original water-colours. Besides, she entrusted a Hungarian writer, Ferenc Császár with the editorial work. His task included preparing the twenty-two letters written by Iván to his mother and to his sister from different stages of their journey into a form appropriate for publishing; also writing Iván Forray's biography as well as one page long explanatory comments to every single picture. The editor's primary sources of information were Iván's letters and fragmentary travel journal,¹³ and also some travel books.¹⁴ The impressive, sizeable volume (page size: 690×510 mm) contains 40 coloured lithograph picture tables, two black and white lithograph portraits (of Iván Forray and his nephew, count Tamás Nádasdy, who also died very young), and black-and-white initials¹⁵ decorating the text. Woodcuts were made at Huszka&Winter's in Pest; the album was printed in Vienna at Reiffenstein&Rösch.¹⁶

The three noble men's itinerary can be reconstructed from the letters¹⁷ and the pictures. The group started from Vienna, travelled through Italy¹⁸ spending a couple of days in every important city (Venice, Bologna, Florence, Rome, Naples), then sailed on a steamer from Naples to Malta where they had to stop and wait for another steamship coming from France. Finally, they arrived to Alexandria in four days. From here, on the board of a sailing ship, the company sailed along the Nile to make a trip to Cairo and the surroundings. Soliman bey, magistrate and military leader in Cairo organised a Turkish feast and reception for the Hungarian noblemen;¹⁹ he later also granted them the opportunity to enter into the divan (a sort of parlour) of his own harem and Iván got permission to paint a portrait of Soliman bey's two daughters.²⁰ When visiting Saqqara, they had brunch with champagne in a niche on the stony slope of the Cheops

pyramid. Finally, the group made a detour to the desert and bid farewell to each other. Count Zichy continued his journey further to Syria according to their original travel plan. Iván and Artúr decided to skip Syria, and returned in eight days, through Alexandria and Syra²¹ to Malta, where they were retained in the quarantine for 18 days. When “freed”, the two young men continued their journey in Europe through Italy, Switzerland, France and Germany.²²

Samples of Forray’s *Travel album* are available in several public collections and libraries in Hungary.²³ Fortunately, the Department of Prints and Drawings of the Hungarian National Gallery also holds in its collection 37 artworks (on loose leaves) of diverse techniques by Iván Forray.²⁴ According to their signature and dating or their subject, fifteen of these artworks – one pencil drawing and fourteen water-colours – were actually made in the course of the exotic journey. Five of the fourteen water-colours are identical with five of the lithographed illustrations in the *Travel album*. Another five of count Forray’s autograph graphics depict figures, scenes that served as a base or starting point for five more lithographs, but only appear as a well-integrated detail on the final picture. None of the remaining five water-colours figure in the album, neither wholly nor partly, though one of them is a detailed, elaborate picture showing the fellow-travellers in a room-interior, gathered around a table to discuss the travel plan. Here follows an overview of the lithographs and the water-colours:

Inventory number of of water-colours	Water-colour data ²⁵	Title of lithograph	Picture comment sequence number in text ²⁶
1940–3539	paper; water-colour, pencil; 299×452 mm signed: lower left, in pencil: <i>Forray Iván</i> dated: down in the middle, in ink: 1842	A Terracinába vivő úton / <i>On the way to Terracina</i> page size: 680×525 mm picture size: 440×306 mm	X.
1954–5038	cardboard; water-colour, pencil; 238×330 mm signed: lower left, in pencil: <i>Forray Ivan</i> dated: lower right, in ink: <i>Malta 8 März 1842</i>	Malta erődívenyei / <i>Fortresses on Malta</i>	XV.
1954–5039	paper; water-colour, pencil; 277×430 mm dated: lower right, in ink: <i>Neapel 4 März 1842</i>	„Nápoly”-fogadó / <i>The „Naples” Inn</i>	XVI.
1940–3542	paper; water-colour, pencil; 320×447 mm dated: lower right, in ink: <i>Malta 1842</i>	Béerkoci-tér Mal- taban / <i>Cab-stand on Malta</i>	XVII.

Inventory number of water-colours	Water-colour data ²⁵	Title of lithograph	Picture comment sequence number in text ²⁶
1940–3541	cardboard; water-colour, pencil; 237×331 mm signed and dated: lower left, in ink: <i>Ivan Forray Malta 1842. en (?) Carentain</i>	A máltai veszteglő-intézet / <i>Quarantine house, Malta</i>	XIX.
1954–5041	“The figure of the Indian prince” cardboard; water-colour 319×230 mm No signature or dating.	Indiai fejedelem / <i>Indian prince</i>	XX.
1954–5043	“Water-selling Arab” cardboard; water-colour 277×181 mm signed: lower right, in pencil: <i>Cairo 842</i>	Kávéház Alexandriában / <i>Café in Alexandria</i>	XXII.
1954–5044	<i>Kairoi (?) nő</i> (“Woman of Cairo”) cardboard; water-colour 276×183 mm title and date: lower right, in brown ink: <i>Kairoi nő Egyiptom 1842</i>	Abissziniai nő / <i>Abyssinian woman</i>	XXXVI.
1954–5040	“Mule” ²⁷ cardboard; water-colour, pencil; 231×325 mm Not signed. Dated: lower right, in pencil: <i>Bologna 26 / 1842</i>	Malaborgai posta-állomás / <i>Post station in Malaborga</i>	III.
1954–5042	“Fishermen in work on a sailing boat” cardboard; pencil; 226×316 mm Not signed. Dated: lower left, in pencil: <i>Neapel 18. Febr. 1842</i>	Nápolyi tenger-öböl / <i>The gulf at Naples</i>	XII.
1954–5044	“Italian woman” ²⁸ paper; water-colour, pencil; 136×181 mm No signature or dating.	—	
1954–5047	“Monk” cardboard; water-colour, whitewash, pencil; 134×105 mm Dated: lower right, in brown ink: <i>Ferrara 28 Jan 1842</i>	—	
1940–3540	“Planning the journey” cardboard; water-colour; 210×313 mm Signed: down in the middle in ink: <i>Forray Iván</i> Dated: lower right in ink: <i>Venezia 1842</i>	—	

Inventory number of of water-colours	Water-colour data ²⁵	Title of lithograph	Picture comment sequence number in text ²⁶
1954–5030	“Horse head study” cardboard; water-colour, pencil, white-wash; 147×120 mm Signed and dated on the neck of the horse in ink: <i>Ivan 31 Janu 1842 Bologna</i>	–	
1954–5037	<i>Pascarelli</i> paper; water-colour; 319×237 mm Signed: lower right, in pencil: <i>Ivan Forray</i> Dated and titled: lower left, in brown ink: <i>Pascarelli. Neapel im 26 feb. 842.</i>	–	

The editor writes in the preface that Iván’s drawings were made during the journey from life and a major part of them are reproduced in the *Travel album*. This sentence includes additional information: the album contains only a “choice” selection of the original drawings. Certain data in the acquisition documentation²⁹ also confirms that more autographical graphics have survived by Forray than these 37 kept at the Hungarian National Gallery, but their present location is unknown.

Presumably, all lithographs were made after original water-colours and/or drawings, and Joseph Heicke might have had all of them at his disposal. However, regarding the scarce number of originals that are at present available for study purposes, it is impossible to tell how many of the lithographs are almost unchanged adoptions, and which of them tell more about Heicke’s talent and invention than about Forray’s.

Nonetheless, these fifteen authentic graphics provide an exceptional opportunity for a thorough comparative study of the lithographs and their originals. Even a superficial look reveals: lesser or greater changes were carried out by Heicke on the original compositions; none of the lithographs remained untouched from Heicke’s creativity and artistic impulse. I will examine the relation between the lithographs and the original water-colours along the following questions: What are the differences precisely? What kind of changes were implemented by Heicke? Which pictorial elements or details were involved? What could have been his reason not to be accurately faithful to the original? Most of the water-colours show scenes, landscapes, figures related to the first half, the “pre-Egyptian” phase of the journey. I will only focus on four of the pictures that depict oriental themes. Only two of the water-colours were in fact painted in Egypt: the *Woman of Cairo* and the *Water-selling Arab*. Another, showing the Indian prince was drawn on shipboard while crossing the sea from Naples to Malta.³⁰ I also include the one painted on Malta, in Fort Emmanuel, when being stuck in the quarantine, for numerous oriental objects, textiles are put on display in various parts of the room. Stylistic questions will not be dealt with this time, but colours and certain characteristic picture details will in the first place form subject of this analysis.



Fig. 1. Iván Forray: Woman of Cairo; card-board, water-colour. 276x183 mm. Title and date: lower right, in brown ink: Kairoi nő Egyiptom 1842. Hungarian National Gallery, Prints and Drawings Department, Inv. Nr. 1954-5044

Surprisingly, Forray's water-colours – except the *Quarantine house on Malta* – show the figures exclusively. On the water-colour version of the lithograph titled *Abyssinian woman*³¹ (Fig. 1) Forray depicted only a girl with a single cushion,

whereas the lithograph (Fig. 2) shows a young woman in a picturesque oriental interior. Several well-suited props are gathered together to create an exotic milieu: bulky cushions, an oriental carpet, a narghile and a decorative oriental censer (*mikharah*) in the foreground; a fan made of ostrich feather in the girl's left hand; a horseshoe arched window-opening on the right through which a garden is visible; colourful stylized ornamental pattern decorate the wall, and heavy mauve curtains occupy a considerable part of the background.

As for the *Indian prince*, (Fig. 3-4) as well as the figure of the water-selling Arab (Fig. 5-6) similar divergences can be observed between the water-colour and the lithograph. On the lithograph the noble figure of the Indian prince dressed in exotic costumes stands in front of a scenic landscape background featuring a river – supposedly the Nile – and an ancient Egyptian building. However, the male figure holding a leather bottle earlier a central character, features only as a picture detail on the *Café in Alexandria* lithograph.

The same question arises in connection with each lithograph: from where did Joseph Heicke borrow all the other picture elements? Without having seen either all of Forray's works related to the Egyptian journey, or Heicke's drawings, water-colours and later oil paintings, we can only raise various credible presumptions. It could be possible that Heicke did not have anything else at his disposal than the single figures,³² so, when transferring them into lithograph he needed to complete them at once with a



Fig. 2. Abyssinian woman – XXXVI; colour lithograph. Lithographed by Joseph Heicke after Iván Forray. page size: 680x525 mm; picture size: 440x306 mm



Fig. 3. Iván Forray: The figure of the Indian prince; card-board; water-colour. 319x230 mm. No signature or dating. Hungarian National Gallery, Prints and Drawings Department, Inv. Nr. 1954-5041



Fig. 4. Indian prince – XX; colour lithograph. Lithographed by Joseph Heicke after Forray, Iván. page size: 680x525 mm; picture size: 440x306 mm

spectacular and atmospheric oriental setting. This raises another question: Was it Heicke's own decision to develop the note-like water-colours to complete pictures, or did he follow countess Brunszvik's instructions? It is also possible that for the completion of Forray's water-colours Heicke could rely on plenty of sketches, drawings or maybe even complete sketchbooks³³ by Iván Forray as a referential source, as well as on his own drawings, notes and visual memory.³⁴

There must be a large number of works with identical subjects, depicted on the journey both by count Forray and by Heicke. However, up to the present, I have only found two examples. A water-colour by Heicke kept at the Hungarian Historical Gallery of the Hungarian National Museum³⁵ (Fig. 7) shows the planning of the journey in Venice almost precisely the same way as a water-colour by count Forray, kept at the Hungarian National Gallery.³⁶ (Fig. 8) The only difference is that in Heicke's picture not only the three noblemen are present but so is the painter. An art collection in the USA preserves a painting³⁷ by Joseph Heicke (Fig. 9) showing the same scene as lithograph Nr. XXVIII titled *Café Schubra in Cairo* in Forray's travel album (Fig. 10).

Nevertheless, Heicke did not take Forray's pictures "at face value". Apart from transforming them to a spectacular oriental scene, Heicke also executed several small scale changes – involving textile patterns, colour shades, and even basic colouring – in spite of the fact that every tiny detail is rather elaborate in Forray's water-colours.



Fig. 5. Forray Iván: Water-selling Arab; card-board; water-colour. 277×181 mm. Signed: lower right, in pencil: Cairo 842. Hungarian National Gallery, Prints and Drawings Department, Inv. Nr. 1954–5043

On the lithographed version of the *Abysinian woman*, the red ribbon, running through the girl's forehead, is replaced by a chain of metal coins. Regarding colours and decorative textile patterns, small changes are applied on the headscarf as well as on the shawl around the girl's waist. Colours are given more vivid timbres. Heicke introduced two new colours – vivid light green and ochre – that do not appear in the water-colour. The female figure on the lithograph gives the impression of a mature young woman



Fig. 6. Café in Alexandria – XXII; colour lithograph. Lithographed by Joseph Heicke after Iván Forray. page size: 680×525 mm; picture size: 306×440 mm



Fig. 7. Joseph Heicke: Planning the journey in Venice; water-colour. 214x309 mm. Signed and dated lower left: Heicke 845. Hungarian National Museum, Hungarian Historical Gallery, Inv. Nr. 69.93



Fig. 8. Iván Forray: Planning the journey; card-board; water-colour. 210x313 mm. Signed: down in the middle in ink: Forray Iván. Dated: lower right in ink: Venezia 1842. Hungarian National Gallery, Prints and Drawings Department, Inv. Nr. 1940–3540



Fig. 9. Joseph Heicke: Arabs drinking coffee in front of a tent. oil on panel. 22×27¼ inch. Signed lower right: JHeicke 1842. Inscribed on a label on reverse: caffee schubra in Cairo in egibten von Joseph Heicke; Greenwich (Connecticut, USA), Dahesh Museum of Art, Accession Number: 1995.19



Fig. 10. Café Schubra in Cairo – XXVIII; colour lithograph. Lithographed by Joseph Heicke after Iván Forray. page size: 680×525 mm; picture size: 306×440 mm



Fig. 11. Iván Forray: Iván Forray and Artúr Batthyány in the quarantine house on Malta; card-board, water-colour, pencil. 237×331 mm. Signed and dated: lower left, in ink: Ivan Forray Malta 1842. en (?) Carentain. Hungarian National Gallery, Prints and Drawings Department, Inv. Nr. 1940–3541



Fig. 12. Quarantine house, Malta – XIX; colour lithograph.
Lithographed by Joseph Heicke after Iván Forray. page size: 680×525 mm;
picture size: 306×440mm

with enigmatic deep-brown eyes; the girl in the water-colour looks much younger, and the shape of her face is more elongated. There is considerable difference in the colour of the skin. The skin of the woman on the lithograph is dark-brown, rich in dark tones, while the girl's skin in the water-colour has rather reddish brown colour. However, this change of colour-shade can be accounted for the technique of lithography.³⁸

Likewise, Heicke executed some smaller, unnecessary changes on the Indian prince's outfit: modified the colour pattern of his belt, and changed the colour of the shoes from dark-brown to crimson. However, the figure of the water-selling Arab is integrated without alteration into the *Café in Alexandria* scene.

It is not accidental that most of the above listed details – as well as the nargileh pipe, the trim of the girl's dress, patterns on her headscarf and on her belt (especially details coloured vivid blue or vivid red) – are coloured subsequently by hand. Apparently, small-scale modifications affecting minute details are the result of later colouring, perhaps because vivid colour tones were not producible by the technique of lithography. Heicke used water-colour paint for colouring.

The picture titled *Quarantine House on Malta* (Fig. 11) shows count Iván Forray and count Artúr Batthyány in a room interior. Forray painted this water-colour in Fort Emmanuel, on Malta where the fellows had to stay for more than two weeks in quarantine on their way back to Europe. Souvenirs from their journey – handcrafted objects, knives, colourful oriental textiles – are spread about the room. Both men seem to be absorbed in reading. On the lithograph (Fig. 12), compared with its original in water-colour, several compositional changes are applied all around the picture stage. Heicke modified the viewpoint, and turned the whole composition a bit more “en face” to the viewer. On the left side, the chair is pulled back from the writing desk, a black suit with a red tie is put on it. Heicke gave different colours to most of the small objects displayed on the top of the writing desk and the small table in the very background. On the right side, the mirror is moved a bit higher, so that Forray's head shall not cover any part of it. Generally, the small objects – vases, textiles, veils, etc. – are unrefined and sketchy in the water-colour but elaborated on the lithograph. Instead of the yellow veil, a black coat appears in the background right in front of the curtained corner of the room. The tablecloth is in fact an oriental carpet on the lithograph. Heicke replaced the red carnation and rose-like flowers on the mantelpiece with green plants. Forray's dressing-gown is originally greyish, but on Heicke's lithograph it is given a brilliant blue colour, richly decorated with sumptuous orientalising pattern. Heicke changed Forray's crimson slippers to white ones. On the water-colour the coat hanger in the right lower corner is entirely sketchy, only pencil lines mark its place. Again, the most spectacular colours are results of subsequent colouring: the red gown on the hanger in the right lower corner, and the delicate patterns on the oriental textiles.

In all four cases Heicke not only completed the pictures with a suitable background or appropriate details, but also carried out smaller changes – on the dresses, textiles, accessories – that were not indispensable and which thus distorted the originality of the water-colours. These modifications affected foremost the colour tints. Heicke modified certain arbitrarily chosen details; often replaced the original colours by more intense and brighter ones. These vivid colours (yellow, red, blue, light-green) are always later additions, results of subsequent colouring on the lithograph. However,

there is already a difference between the real colours of nature and the colours of a water-colour: when completely dried, the latter becomes faded, loses its original liveliness. The technique of lithograph is accountable for the general darker tone of colours. Heicke also applied subsequent heightening to enhance darker parts of the picture.

Such an analysis of the small details lead us to a wider horizon of problems related to 19th century oriental and orientalisising painting. All modifications, “corrections” and completions show a tendency that Heicke intended to give a more „appropriate” oriental outlook to Forray’s water-colours by making them more picturesque, more colourful. “Orientalising” is a problematic notion related to the scientific discourse on 19th century oriental painting. Extensive bibliography discusses the phenomenon that often a tension exists between the reality artists faced during an oriental journey, and what their sumptuous and enchanting oil paintings represent.³⁹ A thorough examination of sketchbooks reveal the truth reliably, and they also tell a lot about later changes. Painters were not always truthful: they did not depict things, sights, events exactly the same way as they saw and encountered them in real life, but “amended”, completed, refined them in order to comply with the unsaid requirements of the public. Actually, artists often visualised the dreams and preconceptions of European people concerning the Eastern world. These colourful, vivid oil paintings also represent, in fact, the method of orientalisising the Orient, or making real experiences accessible as well as consumable for the public. Orientalism is an attitude shining through colours and shapes, also through words. It canonizes fancy ideas of European people as reference points concerning the Orient, as the author of the picture comment gives a good example in the following passage: „Again, we are in a harem, to where access is granted only exceptionally, especially for foreigners; in a harem, *where architectural structure, interior design and furniture entirely complies with the image we Europeans hold about it*:⁴⁰ the walls are decorated with richly coloured ornaments, the window opens on a garden full of fragrant, sweet-smelling flowers, rich vegetation, foliate trees; luxurious oriental textiles: curtains, carpets, sofa, all of these are here together, where the lady of the house... lives and spends her days free from care, and free from unattainable dreams or desires.”⁴¹ It is bizarre that the oriental atmosphere so much praised by the editor-commentator is not present on the original water-colour. Császár praises exactly those details on the lithograph that are added by Heicke. Though this passage is strongly influenced by stereotypes, it tells a great deal about 19th century orientalism.

By means of putting the water-colours and the lithographs side by side, my primary purpose was to draw attention to this tendency that was a widespread practice among 19th century artists. Heicke as a professional painter was not an exception either. On one hand, the task given to him was to illustrate an impressive, representative, artistic travel album, on the other hand, to transfer to lithographs already existing illustrations made by Iván Forray. Heicke did not behave as a humble copy-maker. Sometimes he did not execute any changes, sometimes he changed whatever he wished.

Contrary to Heicke, Iván was not a professional painter. Numerous facts support the presumption that Forray’s water-colours and drawings are, indeed, reliable and realistic depictions, and lack this artistic inclination for orientalisising. Contrary to Heicke, he had never wanted to publish a travel album;⁴² if he had ever had such an intention, he would have had done so already, in a short time after his return. His drawings

and water-colours, however artistic and high-quality works they might be, only served him as personal souvenirs to help him keep fresh the memory of this exceptional adventure. Besides, it is a peculiarity of water-colour technique that later correction or rework is very complicated and difficult. Apparently the count seized every spare moment for drawing and making sketches: when there were some blockage on the road,⁴³ when waiting for the departure, or spending many days in the quarantine.

Forray might have been excited about travelling to the Orient, but his eyes were not clouded by the overwhelming enthusiasm of orientalist fever or by preconceptions taken from novels and travelogues that would have misrepresented reality. When taking his first steps on the land of Egypt, Forray was not impressed at all: „Narrow and dirty streets, houses built of mud and roofed with straw, miserable plebs, dogs without masters, camels burdened with leather bottles and their drivers were the first things catching one's eye in this city founded by Alexander the Great a very long time ago.”⁴⁴ Sadly, only six of Iván's published twenty-two letters deal with Egypt, two of these were written in the quarantine, on Malta,⁴⁵ but none of them abound in detailed descriptions and reports. However, it is not known whether these twenty-two letters provide only a selection of all letters written by Iván to his family, and if some of them were held back by the family.

The next stage of this research involves exploring Viennese public collections and art galleries in search of Heicke's drawings, sketch-books and water-colours made on the journey, also his lithographed album. It is also indispensable to continue research in Hungarian public as well as private collections, and in archives in order to get a more complete view of the subject and also to enable a more comprehensive comparative study of the works by the two painters.

Notes

- 1 Isabelle Julia, “L'Étourdissement des paysages,” in *Les années romantiques – La peinture française de 1815 à 1850*, ed. Isabelle Julia and Jean Lacambre (Paris: Édition de la Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1995), 140–153; Roger Benjamin, “The Oriental Mirage,” in *Orientalism – Delacroix to Klee*, exh. cat., ed. Roger Benjamin et al. (New South Wales [Australia]: The Art Gallery of New South Wales, 1997), 7–10.
- 2 At that time part of the Habsburg Empire.
- 3 Orientalism (primarily present in painting and literature) arrived to Hungary from France, mediated by the Austrians. In painting, landscapes and genre scenes were the most favoured orientalist genres. Katalin Kissné Sinkó, “Orientalizáló életképek” (Orientalising genre pictures), in *Művészet Magyarországon 1830–1870, I–II. (Art in Hungary 1830–1870, I–II.)*, exh. cat., ed. Júlia Szabó and György Széphelyi F. (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, 1981), I, 98.
- 4 19th century Hungarian painters who did a tour in Egypt: Károly Lajos Libay (1855–56), who was hired by count Joseph Breuner from Vienna to accompany him on his journey; György Greguss (1881); Vince Melka (1890's). See: *Painting Exhibition by Lajos Károly Libay (1814–1888) & Iván Forray (1817–1852)*, ed. György Sümegi and Éva Bajkay (Cairo: The Egyptian Centre for International Cultural Cooperation, 1996); Péter Sas, *Melka Vince* (Kolozsvar [Cluj-Napoca]: Művelődés, 2009), 6.
- 5 First husband of countess Júlia Apraxin.

- 6 Edmund Zichy (1811–1866), youngest son to count Ferenc Zichy from his second marriage. Pursued a career in politics, but following the 1848/49 revolution he withdrew from public life, and committed himself entirely to patronising art, and promoting industrial developments. Founder of the Museum of Applied Arts in Vienna. Established an excellent oriental art collection, later to be inherited by his second son, Eugen, who left it to the Hungarian State in 1906.
- 7 Austrian painter and lithographer, specialised in animal and landscape painting. Born in 1811 in Vienna, studied at the Vienna Art Academy (Akademie der bildenden Künste). Most often referred as a follower of Friedrich Gauermann. He went on several artistic journeys to Italy, also to Hungary, where he painted horses, horse-herders, and the “Pusztá”. After his oriental journey in Egypt, he continued painting oriental subjects, and appeared at the annual exhibitions of the Academy. Count Edmund Zichy commissioned several paintings by him as a memory of the journey in Egypt, e.g.: *Araber in einem Hinterhalte* (Arabs on the watch) and *Lager in der Wüste* (Camp in the desert), also *Egy este Damaszkuszban Zichy Edével* (An evening in Damascus with count Edmund Zichy), see: *Art in Hungary 1830–1870*, 1981, II, 345. Particularly important are Heicke’s pictures painted during the 1848–1849 Hungarian Revolution and War of Independence. He later depicted the life and events of various Viennese Sport Clubs. Died in 1861, in Vienna. See: Constantin von Wurzbach, *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich, enthaltend die Lebensskizzen der denkwürdigen Personen, welche seit 1750 in den österreichischen Kronenländern geboren oder darin gelebt und gewirkt haben* Vol. 8. (Vienna, 1862), 206–207; Heinrich Fuchs, *Die österreichischen Maler des 19. Jahrhunderts* Vol. 2. (Vienna, Dr. Heinrich Fuchs Selbstverlag), K49; *Kunst des 19. Jahrhunderts. Bestandskatalog der Österreichischen Galerie des 19. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Elisabeth Hülmbauer Vol. 2. (Vienna: Österreichische Galerie Belvedere Wien – Edition Christian Brandstätter, 1993), 141–142.
- 8 The very first number of the journal titled *Honderü* (1st year, 1st number, 7 January 1843) reports count Forray to arrive to Paris with a friend.
- 9 See letter Nr. XXI, 23 May, Malta, Fort Manuel, quarantine. Forray sent back Heicke to Hungary together with a monkey, a chamois and Mabruh.
- 10 Count Iván Forray’s most exhaustive biography is given in the travel album by the editor. See: *Életirati vázlat* (Biographical notes)
- 11 Gabriella Szvoboda Dománszky, *A Pesti Műegylet története. A képzőművészeti nyilvánosság kezdetei a XIX. században Pesten és Budán* (The History of the Pest Artistic Circle. The Beginnings of the Public Sphere in the 19th Century Pest and Buda), (Miskolc: Miskolci Egyetem, 2007), 104, 177. Heicke most likely never published a lithographed travel album of his own, though literature mentions a lithograph series titled *Reise in den Orient* (1842). See: *Österreichisches biographisches Lexikon 1815–1950*, ed. by the Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften under the leadership of Leo Santifaller, and Eva Obermayer–Marnach Vol. 2. (Graz–Köln: Verlag Hermann Böhlaus Nachf., 1959), 240. Nevertheless, this is the only reference to the alleged series, it is not mentioned by any other author.
- 12 *Utazási album Soborsini Gróf Forray Iván eredeti rajzai és jegyzetei szerint. Olaszország – Malta – Egyiptom* (Travel album based upon Count Iván Forray’s original

drawings and notes. Italy – Malta – Egypt), published by Countess Brunswick Júlia of Soborsin, wife to Count Endre Forray, starcross lady of the court (Pest: Lauffer & Stolp, 1859, Referred as *Travel album* hereafter.) 41 written pages, 42 picture tables, 35 of which are hand-coloured lithographs. Without paginating. Published only in 100 copies.

- 13 See picture comment Nr. XXXVI, where the editor tells that he could not find any reference to this very picture neither in Forray's letter, nor in his fragmentary notes taken during the journey.
- 14 Császár refers to various travel books in his text, but names the authors only now and then. His sources were roman numbers indicate the sequence number of the picture commentary: Ampère – VII., Heinzelmann – IX., Lüdemann – XI., "a certain traveller" – XVI., XVII., "the author of the *Cartoons*" – XXXI., "as I read in certain travelogues" – XXI., "I read it somewhere" – XXIV., "as our dear Ivan's travel notes reveal" – XXXII.
- 15 Made by Alois Rohn lithographer after A. Winter's drawings.
- 16 Datas taken from the most detailed contemporary advertisement in *Divatcsarnok*, 4 January 1859, 21–22. (Ferenc Császár was the chief editor of this journal.)
- 17 The first letter is dated 19 January 1842, Trieste; the last 14 June 1842, Florence.
- 18 Trieste – Ferrara – Bologna – Florence – Arezzo – Perugia – Nepi – Velletri – Pontini swamps – Terracina – Gaeta – Capua – Aversa – Naples.
- 19 Edmund Zichy's portrait by József Borsos known under the title *Libanese emir*, painted in Vienna in 1843 (oil, canvas, 154×119 cm; private collection), shows the count wearing the very same dress he wore at the party given by Suleyman bey in Cairo. Katalin Kissné Sinkó, "Orientalizáló életképek" (Orientalising genre pictures), in *Művészet Magyarországon 1830–1870, I–II. (Art in Hungary, 1830–1870, I–II.)*, eds. Júlia Szabó and György Széphelyi F. exh. cat. (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, 1981), I. 102–103; II. 350. (Cat. Nr. 239.)
- 20 Picture table Nr. XXXII in the travel album.
- 21 Iván writes in his letter (Nr. 20, dated 15 May, Malta, quarantine) that they returned to Malta through Syra (or Syros, a small island of the Cyclades), but did not go to Syria. However, most biographical sources circulate a misunderstanding that Iván travelled around both in Egypt and Syria. Apparently his biographers read the geographical name only superficially. See: János Szendrei and Gyula Szentiványi, *Magyar képzőművészek lexikona. Magyar és magyarországi vonatkozású művészek életrajzai a XII. századtól napjainkig (Lexicon of Hungarian artists. Biographies of Hungarian and Hungary-related artists from the 12th century to present days) Vol. I. Abádi – Günther*, (Budapest, 1915), 523; *Das geistige Ungarn. Biographisches Lexikon*, eds. Oskar von Krücken and Imre Parlagi (Vienna – Leipzig: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1918), 346; *Pallas Lexikon*, VII, 390; József Szinnyei, *Magyar írók (Hungarian Writers)*, III, 652–653.
- 22 Letters Nr. XX. 15 May, Malta, quarantine and XXI., 7 June, Skamandre (name of the ship they took from Malta to Livorno).
- 23 Hungarian National Gallery, Museum of Fine Arts, Metropolitan Ervin Szabó Library, Somogyi Library (Szeged).

- 24 According to the acquisition documentation kept at the Archives of the Museum of Fine Arts (Inv. Nr. 863–03–228/1954 and Inv. Nr. 374–1940), the major part of Forray's authentic art-works were bought from a certain Mrs. Nádasdy in 1954. As Iván's sister, countess Júlia Forray married count Leopold Nádasdy, it is not impossible, that Mrs. Nádasdy's husband was a late descendant, so, he entered into the possession of these graphics by inheritance. Another five artworks were bought in 1940 from Vilmos Szilárd art dealer. A letter dated 28 June 1940 by Mr. Szilárd informs us that he offered 10 watercolours from a sketch book of 50 pages (he writes: „the original album”) containing drawings and watercolours by Iván Forray's hand. In the end only 5 watercolours were bought by the Graphic Department. (The Hungarian National Gallery came into being in 1957 by seceding Hungarian artworks from the collections of the Museum of Fine Arts. Therefore documentation related to acquisitions prior to 1957 is still kept at the Archives of the Museum of Fine Arts.)
- 25 Only two of the fifteen watercolours and drawings bear titles given by Forray: *Kairoi nő* and *Pascarelli*. I only gave titles to the watercolours when it is not fully identical with the lithograph but shows only a detail of it.
- 26 Picture tables in the album are not numbered, only the explanatory comments, however, both of them are given the same title.
- 27 The original signature written in pencil is erased with a rubber. At its present state, the sheet is only dated in pencil. I suspect, the previous owner, Mrs. Nádasdy has overwritten the original signature, as it showed another name: Heicke.
- 28 The absence of signature or dating makes also possible that Forray painted this water-colour on an earlier Italian journey.
- 29 See previous footnote.
- 30 Forray writes that they got to know the Indian prince in Rome, at a party given by Lützow, the Austrian consul. See letter Nr. XIII (6 March, on board the *Rhamses*), and XIV. (14 March, on board the *Oriental*).
- 31 In a Muslim society to allow a foreign male person to paint a portrait of a woman was not self-understanding at all. Forray does not tell where and how did he find an opportunity to paint the portrait of an Abyssinian woman. Supposedly, it was painted inside a harem. The album contains another lithograph (Nr. XXXII) that shows the two daughters of Soliman bey in the *divan* of a harem. In the picture comment, the editor refers to Iván's fragmentary travel notes where the young count reports that the company really wished to see a harem from inside, but this seemed impossible at first. However, later on, he could enter one in a tricky way. The three young men got closely acquainted with Soliman bey who was pleased to meet them, and highly appreciated the Hungarian noblemen. Ivan asked whether it would be possible to paint a portrait of his two daughters, whom he was so proud of. Soliman bey found him worthy of his confidence, and permitted him to enter into the divan of his own harem. If the water-colour version of the *Daughters of Soliman bey* did survive and were available, it would be useful and exciting to put side by side the two lithographs and the two water-colours and study the differences between them.
- 32 The fact that the background is not elaborated, may be accountable for the lack of time, or not being an interesting subject for Forray.

- 33 That may still exist, but no further information is available on their present location.
- 34 He was actually one of Iván's travel companions, and saw everything with his own eyes, moreover, painted or drew them in his sketchbook. That was the reason for him being employed, and that was his daily task.
- 35 Inv. Nr. 69.93, watercolour, 214×309 mm, signed and dated lower left: *Heicke 845*. According to the dating, it was painted later, not on the journey.
- 36 Inv. Nr. 1940–3540; watercolour; 210×313 mm, signed and dated: *Forray Ivan Venetia 1842*
- 37 Joseph Heicke: *Arabs drinking coffee in front of a tent*, 1842; oil on panel; 22×27¼ inch; Signed lower right: *JHeicke 1842*; Inscribed on a label on reverse: *caffee schubra in Cairo in egibten von Joseph Heicke*; Dahesh Museum of Art, accession number: 1995.19
- 38 When processing a lithograph, colours are applied and printed in separate layers, a new colour by each layer. In the end, the different colour-layers add up the desired colour-shades. However, the result may not precisely match the original colour-design.
- 39 *Orientalism – From Delacroix to Klee*, 1997; Gérard-Georges Lemaire, *The Orient in Western Art* (Köln: Könemann, 2001.) Originally in French: *L'univers des Orientalistes* (Paris: Édition Mengès, 2000).
- 40 Italics mine.
- 41 Comment on Nr. XXXVI colour table, titled *Abisszinai nő (Abyssinian woman)*
- 42 He writes in his letter to his sister, 21 February, Naples (Nr. X.): „...I am not really pleased to hear that you read out my letters for other people, because I did not mean them at all as travelogue, but only as private lines, reserved for you.”
- 43 In his letter 2 February, Bologna (Nr. IV.) Iván writes that a severe storm forced them to stay in Bologna already for four days, and he spends much of his time by drawing. In his following letter, 5 February, Osteria, he reports that in spite of the high risk, they decided to leave Bologna, but on the road leading to Florence, a coach turned upside down blocked traffic, and until rescue came, he used this time with Heicke to paint a landscape.
- 44 In his first letter from Egypt, dated 7 March, Alexandria (Nr. XVI). „Szűk és piszkos utcák, sárból épült, szalmával fedett házak, nyomorult csőcseléknép, gazdátlan ebek, a víztartókból megtöltött tömlőkkel megterhelt tevék és hajcsáraik voltak, mik első tekintetre a hajdan Nagy Sándor által alapított e városban szemünkbe tűntek.”
- 45 The last letter written from Egypt is dated: 22 March, while they were sailing on the Nile, then the earliest letter from Malta dates 15 May, so for about 1,5 month, he did not write any letters, and only the pictures report about the various stages of the journey.

Mercanti veneziani e Wilhelm von Bode

Anna Tüskés

L'analisi delle lettere dei cinque mercanti veneziani custoditi nel lascito Bode, presso l'archivio centrale dei Musei di Stato di Berlino, arricchisce dal punto di vista storico, artistico e documentario la nostra immagine del mondo antiquariale di fine Ottocento e inizio Novecento e chiarisce alcuni aspetti dell'allestimento dei Musei Reali di Berlino. La corrispondenza fra gli antiquari e il direttore dei Musei Reali testimonia non solo l'accuratezza delle ricerche svolte da Bode per scoprire nuove opere d'arte per le collezioni berlinesi, ma anche la reciprocità di queste azioni e, nel caso di Guggenheim, l'evoluzione di un'amicizia durata trent'anni. Il lascito non contiene purtroppo i disegni e le fotografie a cui fanno riferimento i vari passi delle lettere e non conosciamo neanche le risposte di Bode, ma, seppur in tal senso frammentari, i documenti rimastici danno un importante contributo alla museografia tedesca. Futuri studi negli archivi veneziani potranno inoltre ancora naturalmente completare le nostre conoscenze sul patrimonio di opere d'arte che gli antiquari veneziani volevano offrire in acquisto a Bode.

Il presente studio prende le mosse dalla ricerca sulle vere da pozzo, patere e formelle veneziane custodite nei Musei Statali di Berlino, tra le quali spiccano quelle acquistate da Wilhelm von Bode tra il 1880 e il 1910, un periodo importante per l'antiquariato veneziano.¹ I sei protagonisti di questa corrispondenza sono da un lato i più celebri antiquari veneziani, Michelangelo Guggenheim, Ferdinando Ongania, Antonio Marcato, Consiglio Ricchetti e Moise della Torre, dall'altro Wilhelm von Bode, lo storico d'arte tedesco, fondatore del Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum (1904, dal 1958 a lui intitolato) e direttore generale dei Musei di Berlino (1906–20) da lui completamente riorganizzati.² Antonio Marcato collezionista ed antiquario veneziano, aveva ceduto le sue raccolte prima a Della Rovere e poi alla "Venice Art Company", una società anglo-veneziana, chiamata anche "Compagnia dell'arte di Venezia". Nella sua guida *Venezia* (1884), lo scrittore inglese Augustus Hare (1834–1903) richiama l'attenzione sull'antiquario Della Rovere nel capitolo introduttivo: „Antichità. Il famoso negozio di Della Rovere, già Marcato, 2277 S. Fosca, tutti gli oggetti veneziani, dal più piccolo lampadario al più grande *pozzo*, possono essere ottenuti. I costruttori di chiesa faranno bene a guardare qui per i loro altari e decorazioni.”³ Anche Consiglio Ricchetti, collezionista, mecenate e antiquario veneziano, come Marcato, aveva ceduto le sue raccolte alla "Venice Art Company". Moise della Torre era il successore dell'antiquario veneziano Moise Rietti. Ferdinando Ongania (1842–1911) è conosciuto soprattutto per la sua attività di

editore e libraio: fu prima direttore, poi proprietario della casa Münster, fondata a Venezia (1846), produsse ottime edizioni d'arte relative a Venezia e alla sua civiltà, tra le quali *La basilica di S. Marco illustrata nella storia e nell'arte* (1878–93).⁴ Il collezionista e produttore di mobili d'arte veneziano, Guggenheim, aveva fondato nel 1857 lo “Stabilimento di arti decorative e industriali”, e aveva donato fra l'altro la sua collezione di tessuti antichi al Museo Correr.⁵

Tralasciando altre possibili considerazioni, l'attività degli antiquari veneziani e di Bode faceva parte, e nello stesso tempo era una delle conseguenze, della creazione del mito di Venezia tra fine Ottocento e inizi del Novecento. Le tavolette, le placchette di bronzo, le casse in legno di cipresso, le scodelle di porcellana, le chicchere, i portacatini, i cassoni, le statuette sono tutte testimonianze della mitica civiltà veneziana. Il fondo epistolare che documenta i rapporti tra i cinque antiquari veneziani e Wilhelm von Bode per quasi trent'anni ci permette di ricostruire la loro relazione e attività. La bibliografia su Bode è molto ricca e numerosi sono i saggi, le mostre e gli articoli pubblicati su di lui. Sugli antiquari veneziani, invece, dobbiamo accontentarci di pochi studi, ad eccezione dei due articoli su Michelangelo Guggenheim a cura, rispettivamente, di Stefania Moronato (1986) e di Letizia Tasso nel 2011.⁶ Gli articoli⁷ e la mostra ed il catalogo „Ferdinando Ongania, La Basilica di San Marco 1881–1893” nel 2011⁸ trattano Ongania in quanto editore-libraio e non fanno il minimo accenno alla sua attività commerciante. La presente pubblicazione tenta, in questo senso, di colmare tale lacuna e studiare il rapporto lungo e fruttuoso tra Venezia e Berlino. Attraverso la corrispondenza inviata dagli antiquari veneziani a Bode ricaviamo un'idea più esatta dei reciproci legami d'affari.⁹ Le lettere ancora inedite apportano inoltre molte novità sul commercio antiquario, le collezioni private del tempo e la gestione museale.

Nell'archivio centrale dei Musei di Stato di Berlino sono custoditi duecentotrentuno documenti, di cui ventinove lettere, un appunto, sette ricevute e tre biglietti da visita di Consiglio Ricchetti tra 1888–1897;¹⁰ tre lettere e una fattura di Ferdinando Ongania tra 1901–1903;¹¹ due lettere, quattro ricevute e un biglietto di visita di Moise Della Torre tra 1892–1909;¹² venti lettere e cinque fatture di Antonio Marcato tra 1888–1892,¹³ e centotrentacinque lettere, diciassette fatture, due telegramme e un frammento di Michelangelo Guggenheim tra 1881–1909.¹⁴ Non ho trascritto qui integralmente tutti i documenti, ma ho selezionato alcune lettere di particolare importanza che ho trascritto in parte o integralmente nell'antologia.

Questa pubblicazione delle fonti è solo un punto di partenza per approfondire il tema del ruolo degli antiquari veneziani alla fine dell'Ottocento. Per completare la nostra conoscenza sui rapporti tra gli antiquari veneziani e Bode e per stabilire precisamente di quali opere d'arte si tratta nei documenti bisognerà ancora prendere in considerazione anche gli atti amministrativi delle varie collezioni di Berlino ed esaminare i documenti custoditi presso l'Archivio Storico del Comune di Venezia. Catalogando le lettere, i telegrammi e i vari dispacci, raccolti nel Nachlass W. v. Bode, ho cercato di approfondire le vicende d'arte e di commercio veneziane. Fra Bode e Guggenheim sorse, al di là dei rapporti commerciali, un'autentica amicizia. Nei trent'anni di conoscenza reciproca, la corrispondenza finisce per toccare anche argomenti di ambito familiare. Guggenheim fa menzione delle vacanze con la famiglia (lettera Venezia, 2 settembre 1897) e dell'incidente capitatogli quando fu sbalzato nel Canal Grande (lettera Venezia,

26 gennaio 1906). Si preoccupa sinceramente della salute di Bode (lettera Venezia, 2 settembre 1897) e conforta Bode nel periodo dello „scandalo” della *Flora* (ultima lettera: Venezia, 23 dicembre 1909). Tra 1906–1908 il soggetto principale delle lettere non è più il commercio ma il monumento funebre dello storico d’arte Gustav Ludwig.

Fonti

1.

Biglietto di visita di Moise Della Torre & Comp. a Wilhelm von Bode

Senza data

Moïse dalla Torre et Comp.e
 Successeur le 1er
 de
 Moïse Rietti
 Antiquaire
 Palais Gorgowsky à côté du Palais Rezzonico
 sur le Grand Canal
 Filial: Campo della Carità N. 1051 à côté l’Academie des Beaux Arts
 Venise
 Rue S.t Barnaba 3198

[Sul verso: appunti con matita nera: opere d’arte e prezzi]

2.

Biglietto di visita di Moise Della Torre & Comp. a Wilhelm von Bode

Venezia 8 Maggio 1903

Successeur le 1er
 de
 Moïse Rietti
 Antiquaires
 Palais Giustinian à côté du Palais Foscari
 sur le Grand Canal
 3230 S.t Barnaba Campiello Squellini
 Venise
 Stab. C. Ferrari-Venezia [tipografia del biglietto di visita]

[Sul verso: appunti con matita nera: opere d’arte e prezzi]

Contorno da stanza in legno dipinto
 No 100 Tavolette legno dipinto 0,49 x 0,20
 No 50 Metri circa cornice dipinta alta 0,20
 [?] L 1500
 Sig. Com. Bode D.D.
 1 Placchetta di bronzo consegnata L 100

3.

Ricevuta di Moise Della Torre & Comp. a Wilhelm von Bode
Senza data

[Stampa compilata con inchiostro nero]

Moisè dalla Torre & Comp.

Successore il 1.o di Moisé Rietti

Antiquari

Canal Grande S. Barnaba 3198

Filiale Campo della Carità 1051-52

Venezia li 23 Settembre 1892

Signor Dr. Bode Dare pei seguenti oggetti venduti

1 Cassa in legno di cipresso L 230

1 Scodella di porcellana L 80

1 Chicchera L 25

1 Porta-catino di ferro L 60

L 395

4.

Lettera di Moise Della Torre & Comp. a Wilhelm von Bode
Venezia, li 17 Dicembre 904

[Carta intestata, inchiostro nero, fascia a lutto nell'angolo basso sinistra]

Moisè Dalla Torre & C.o

Successore il 1.o di Moisé Rietti

Antichità ed oggetti d'arte Venezia Canal Grande – S. Barnaba Palazzo Giustinian 3230

Telegrammi: Dallatorre Compagno Telefono N. 70

Raccomandata

Sig. Comm. Bode Charlottenburg

Nella chiusura dei nostri libri per la fine dell'anno ci permettiamo reimmerle qui unita la nota del Suo piccolo dare che si compiacerà rimetterci con tutto Suo comodo.

Cogliamo l'occasione per farle i migliori auguri pel nuovo anno e nella speranza di poterla ben presto servire col massimo rispetto ci seguino umili servi Moisè Dalla Torre e Co.
(1 Nota)

5.

Ricevuta di Moise Della Torre & Comp. a Wilhelm von Bode
Venezia, li 17 Dicembre 904

[Stampa compilata con inchiostro nero]

Moisè Dalla Torre & C.o

Successore il 1.o di Moisé Rietti

Antichità ed oggetti d'arte Venezia Canal Grande – S. Barnaba Palazzo Giustinian 3230

Telegrammi: Dallatorre Compagno Telefono N. 70

Sig. Comm. Bode Berlino Dare pei seguenti oggetti venduti 9 Maggio 1903
1 Placchetta di bronzo L 100

6.

Lettera di Moise Della Torre & Comp. a Wilhelm von Bode

13 Nov. 1909

[Oggetto: Dalla Torre offre la cassa antica dipinta per 800 lire incluso imballaggio invece del prezzo anteriore di 1000 lire]

7.

Ricevuta di Moise Della Torre & Comp. a Wilhelm von Bode

20 Novembre 1909

1 Cassone legno con carta dipinta L 800

8.

Ricevuta di Ferdinando Ongania a Wilhelm von Bode

Londra 12. 1. 1901.

Ferdinando Ongania Editore Libraio della Real Casa

Spedito sotto fascia le seguenti fotografie degli oggetti posseduti e vendibili di seguenti prezzi:

No. 1. Bronzo San Michele XVI. Sec. Form 0,70x 0,30 Marche 4.500

No. 2. Venti statuette assortite Mk. 2.200 [...]

9.

Lettera di Ferdinando Ongania a Wilhelm von Bode

Venezia 5. 2. 1903.

Ferdinando Ongania Editore Libraio della Real Casa

Onorevole Signore,

Mi permetto di rivolgermi alla S.V. Illma per un fatto a Lei già noto, riguardo cioè la Madonna da me venduto al Signor Gustav Richter di Berlino.

Per chiarire meglio la cosa, devo informarla che ó venduto tale Madonna vecchia in terra cotta, non quale un lavoro di Della Robbia o di Mastro Giorgio, bensì ó venduto questo oggetto semplicemente quale oggetto vecchio e quale oggetto di decorazione – né più né meno, e di questa asserzione, ó testimonio – Non trattasi poi di una imitazione e di lavoro moderno, e che io possa avere sorpreso la buona fede, tanto é vero che ó spedito l'oggetto quale venduto, in attesa del relativo importo.

Ó una garanzia assoluta sulla provenienza dell'oggetto, e visto che il Signor Richter forma delle difficoltà causa il di Lei giudizio, cioè che la Madonna sarebbe una volgare imitazione moderna, La prego quindi di dirmi una parola in proposito. – Ella sa bene che il mio nome da se garantisce l'impossibilità da parte mia di trattare la vendita di un oggetto dubbio, e questo mi preme prima di ogni altra cosa affermare.

In attesa di una gradita Sua risposta, sempre pronto ove io possa, distintamente La riverisco.

[...] Ongania

10.

Biglietto di visita di Consiglio Ricchetti a Wilhelm von Bode

Senza data

Consiglio Ricchetti

Antiquités objets d'art

Bijoux, Etoffes, Tableaux, Meubles, Bronzes, Glaces, majoliques, Porcelaines etc. etc.

Palais Garzoni, sur le Grand Canal, S. Samuele, N. 3416

Venise

Emballages et Expéditions

[Sul verso: appunti con matita nera: opere d'arte e prezzi, per esempio: scodelle 600, cavaliere 600, campanello 600, navicella 300]

11.

Lettera di Consiglio Ricchetti a Wilhelm von Bode

Venezia, 20 giugno 1875

Preg. Sig.re

In riscontro alla preg.a Sua. [...] Trattandosi che va ad ornare il Museo di Berlino, mi limiterò ai Mille Taleri, che ella mi offre, ed in cambio prenderò una parte delle stoffe vendutele [...]

12.

Lettera di Consiglio Ricchetti a Wilhelm von Bode

Venise, 10 Marzo

Preg.o Sig. Bode

Ho l'onore d'informarla che Le diressi oggi a gran velocità una cassetta No 1 B contenute tutti i piccoli oggetti da lei comperati, e nella scatola diaspro troverà gli orecchini oro e perle.

Nella stessa cassetta ho posto la coperta ricamo ed il Calamajo bronzo che si compiacerà far consegnare al Sig. Dr. Seidel.

Fra qualche giorno faccio l'invio a S.V. delle sedie e cornici, e senz'altro pronto al piacere ai Suoi comandi mi è grato ricerirla[?] un perfetta stima e con[?] di Lei devo Consiglio Ricchetti

13.

Lettera di Consiglio Ricchetti a Wilhelm von Bode

Venise, 17 Obre 1892

Egregio Sig. Bode Berlino

È successo un piccolo equivoco. Io credevo che si dovesse aspettare qualche giorno a fare l'invio, perche altri oggetti dovessero essere imballati assieme. Infatti dal Sig. Favenza ricevetti una Madonna [...] Tra poi ricevo la Sua cartolina che mi dice che la Cassa avrebbe voluto spedirla al Sig. Oscar Holdschincky.¹⁵ Mi duole non poter eseguire le di Lei istruzioni [...]

14.

Cartolina di Consiglio Ricchetti a Wilhelm von Bode

Venezia 23 Marzo 96

Egregio Sig. Bode

Ho l'onore di prevenirla che codesta Deutsche Bank mi ha rimesso per Suo conto L 2290.- che passo a Suo credito della Sua partita. Desideroso di presto vederla, mi prego dirmi colla massima considerazione e stima
Suo dev. Consiglio Ricchetti

15.

Lettera di Antonio Marcato a Wilhelm von Bode

Venezia 20/1 1888

Pregiatissimo Sig. Dottore

Ho ricevuto l'ultima di Lei dalla quale rilevo che Ella acquirebbe le tre patere grandi ed il leone, ma che vorrebbe un pó troppo restringere il prezzo.

Io sono piuttosto andante negli accordamenti, ma trovo che per concludere bisognerebbe che anche da Sua parte mi fosse un poco facilitate le condizioni. Per impegnarmi a tenere assolutamente a di Lei disposizione li quattro oggetti permetta di dirle che dovrebbe portare la somma di L 2000.- a L 2200.-
[...]

16.

Lettera di Antonio Marcato a Wilhelm von Bode

Venezia 26/1 1888

Pregiatissimo Signor Bode,

Ho ricevuto la Sua cartolina postale e sta [?] bene per le L 2200 delle 3 grandi Patere e del Leone. Al di Lei ritorno in Italia sulla fine di Aprile si regolerà ogni cosa...[...]

17.

Lettera di Antonio Marcato a Wilhelm von Bode

Venezia 13/2 1889

Pregiatissimo Sig. Bode Berlino

Le avuto ricevuto di L 655.- in pagamento degli oggetti da lei acquistati nel mio stabilimento [...]

18.

Lettera della Compagnia dell'arte di Venezia a Wilhelm von Bode

Venise, 8 Dicembre 1899

The Venice Art Company Objets d'art anciens et d'ameublement Gobelins, marbres, velours, étoffes, etc. etc. San Moisé No 1473

Successeurs de l'ancienne maison A. Marcato Grand Canal Palais della Vida

Place St Marc Procuratie No. 62 A- 62

Egregio Signore W. Bode Berlino

Ricevo la Sua pregiata 5 corr.e e la ringrazio della risposta. Io ho acquistato il quadro della monaca che trovo interessantissimo. Ne ho ordinato la fotografia e glie la spedirò nel caso Ella abbia qualche amico a cui mostrarla.

È verissimo che nello [atelié?] Guggenheim ho trovato bellissime basi in marmo antico di bei colori. Posso proporle:

Due basi in marmo [...] L 275 ciascuna [...]

19.

Lettera della Compagnia dell'arte di Venezia a Wilhelm von Bode

Venice li 12 Giugno 1900

The Venice Art Company Banking & Express Department

Gentilissimo Signore Bode,

Ho letto con piacere nell'ultima Sua che la [meru?] da Lei acquistata é arrivata in perfetto stato.

Ora mi prendo la libertà di scriverle, per rammentarle la Grande Porta Renaissance in pietra d'Istria, ed il Balcone del Xvo secolo – provenienza Guggenheim. Ella mi disse di avere le fotografie dei 2 oggetti, e che avrebbe probabiliá di [?]amento ad un Suo amico. Il prezzo del Balcone e di L 5000.- mentre Guggenheim ne pretendeva 10m. e della porta L 6000 e per la quale ne domandava 12m.

Succ. di A. Marcato Giuseppe Guetta

20.

Lettera della Compagnia dell'arte di Venezia a Wilhelm von Bode

Venise, 13 Giugno 1901

Successori di A. Marcato Objets d'art anciens et moderns Decorations – Meubles de style – marbres – Etoffes Galerie de tableaux anciens Exportation

Magasins et Salons d'Exposition

S. Moisé N. 1777-1778

Palais Ridotto – Grand Canal

Calle Ridotto N. 1361

Calle Vallaresso N. 1332

Ill.mo Signore Professore Berlino

Seguendo il di Lei desiderio, abbiamo il piacere d'infromarla, che oggi a piccola velocità

abbiamo spediti al Signore Max Friedlender gli oggetti da Lei gentilmente acquistati.¹⁶
Sempre ai riveriti Suoi comandi con tutta Stima Succ. di A. Marcato

21.

Lettera della Compagnia dell'arte di Venezia a Wilhelm von Bode

Venise, li 25 agosto 1902

Successori di A. Marcato Objets d'art anciens et moderns Decorations – Meubles de style – marbres – Etoffes Galerie de tableaux anciens Exportation

Magasins et Salons d'Exposition

S. Moisé N. 1777-1778

Palais Ridotto – Grand Canal

Calle Ridotto N. 1361

Calle Vallaresso N. 1332

Gentilissimo Sig. Professor Bode Berlino

Colla presente Le accusiamo [?] ricevuto di L 1500 quale importo del Bassorilievo in marmo con doratura, che abbiamo avuto l'onore di venderle durante la Sua ultima sosta a Venezia.

Ne abbiamo lasciata regolare ricevuta alli Sig. Fischer & Reichsteiner¹⁷ [...] Succ. di A. Marcato G. Guetta

22.

Lettera della Compagnia dell'arte di Venezia a Wilhelm von Bode

Venise, li 9 Giugno 1903

Successori di A. Marcato Objets d'art anciens et moderns Decorations – Meubles de style – marbres – Etoffes Galerie de tableaux anciens Exportation

Magasins et Salons d'Exposition

S. Moisé N. 1777-1778

Palais Ridotto – Grand Canal

Calle Ridotto N. 1361

Calle Vallaresso N. 1332

Sig. Prof.e Bode Berlino

Gentilissimo Professore, sono spiacente di non aver potuto farlo prima ma la prima prova fotografica era mal riuscita ed [...] mi hanno fatto ritardare l'invio che oggi soltanto venne eseguito. [...]

Guido Minerla [?]

23.

Lettera di Michelangelo Guggenheim a Wilhelm von Bode

Venezia, li 3/5 1882

M. Guggenheim Stabilimento Artistico-Industriale Venezia

Egregio Sig. Dr. Bode

Ho ricevuto oggi il mandato sulla Banca Nazionale di L 1200 (mille duecento) che mi

mandaste in pagamento dei tre bassorilievi bizantini, e dei due busti gotici.
I due bassorilievi sono già dallo scalpellino e saranno segati alla fine di questa settimana [...]

In quanto al bassorilievo (figura sul leone) ci tengo molto, e per conseguenza [...] autográf

24.

Lettera di Michelangelo Guggenheim a Wilhelm von Bode

Venezia 10/XII/85

M. Guggenheim

Objets d'Art et Antiquités

Décoration complète d'appartements dans tous les styles

Fabriques meubles et bronzes artistiques

Palais Balbi – Grand Canal Venise

Egregio S. Dr. W. Bode Berlino

Rispondo con molto ritardo alla Sua del 25 scorso, e cio Le domando scusa.

al momento questi pezzi bizantini sono posti in un luogo che é difficile farli fotografare, subito possibile si fara certo e mi sarà gradito compiacerla e mandarle le fotografie. [...]

25.

Lettera di Michelangelo Guggenheim a Wilhelm von Bode

Venezia, 27 Dicembre 1885

Egregio Signor Dr. W.m Bode Berlino

Le mando in fretta le fotografie dei quattro Bassorilievi, e del pozzo, di cui eccole le misure ed i prezzi.

nr. 1. Bassorilievo franchi 800 (ottocento) alto m. 1.15 largo 0.40

nr. 2. Bassorilievo franchi 1000 (mille) alto m. 0.77 largo 0.60

nr. 3. Bassorilievo franchi 800 (ottocento) alto m. 0.88 largo 0.35

nr. 4. Bassorilievo franchi 1000 (mille) diametro 0.70

nr. 5. Pozzo franchi 1700 (millesettecento) alto m. 0.72 largo 0.90

Non ci sarebbe bisogno che Le dicessi che quest'ultimo é molto interessante, e raro per quest'alternativa di bassorilievo e graffito.

26.

Lettera di Michelangelo Guggenheim a Wilhelm von Bode

Venezia, 12 Aprile 1887

Egregio Signore Dr. Wm Bode

Director bei den Königlichen Museen Berlin

Egregio Signor Dottore,

Ho il piacere d'informarle che Le ho oggi spedito a Grande Velocità i piccoli oggetti da Lei acquistati, pei quali Le accludo in pari tempo fattura ammontante a Les 2640 (duemilleseicentoquaranta).

Tra giorni Le spedisco anche le fotografie del gruppo marmo, Riccio, del San Sebastiano, del Cosimo Tura, e dei quattro leoni in marmo rosso. In quest'occasione Le spediró il ricamo di cui mi pregiero far dono al Loro Museo.

27.

Lettera di Michelangelo Guggenheim a Wilhelm von Bode

Venezia 14 Maggio 1887

Egregio Signore Wm Dr Bode Direttore presso i R.R. Musei Berlino

Egregio Signor Dottore

Scopo della presente si é per prevenirla che avantieri ebbi occasione di vedere il Direttore di Cod. R. Archivio di Stato, il Comm. B. Cecchetti,¹⁸ l'autore dell'interessante memoria coi monogrammi dei Notaj Veneziani che Ella vide da me,¹⁹ nonche del libro sulle Vesti Veneziane nel 1300 e di diversi altri lavori.²⁰ Tra breve uscirá un'altra sua opera che desterá [?] molto interesse nel mondo artistico, tratterá di circa 150 artisti ed artieri da esso scoperti nei documenti dell'Archivio, e fin qui sconosciuti.²¹ Immaginandomi come Le potese interessare tutto ciò, ho dato al Comm. Cecchetti il Suo biglietto da visita, pregandolo d'inviarne una copia a Lei per il loro Museo. [...]

28.

Lettera di Michelangelo Guggenheim a Wilhelm von Bode

Venezia 29 Maggio 1887

Egregio Signore Wm Dr Bode Direttore presso i R.R. Musei Berlino

Egregio Signor Dottore

Ho la pregatissima Sua del 26 corr.ed il Suo nuovo libro sugli artisti Italiani del Rinascimento.²² Ne La ringrazio, e ne Le fó i miei migliori complimenti. Quelle coordinate notizie sugli artisti italiani, e sulle loro opere, corredate dalle Sue intelligenti osservazioni, destano il massimo interesse, e mostrano con quanto amore Ella abbia atteso a questa pubblicazione. Auguro che il Suo libro insegni a qualcheduno dei nostri Direttori di Musei come vanno fatti lavori simili.

Per i due oggetti che il Museo Industriale non vuol ricevere, non fa nulla. Il piccolo occhiale coi frutti, con tutto Suo comodo, me lo mandi indietro. Quanto alla piccola medaglia del Petrarca la passi pure al Suo amico [...]

Le cederó la Cassa per Lire 450.- (quattrocentocinquanta). É una buona cosa, ma son contento di darla ad un Museo anche a questo prezzo. Pregola dirmi dove devo spedirla, se a Grande o Piccola Velocità.

Nell'Esposizione le opere di pittura sono abbastanza numerose, non cosí quelle della scultura. In generale vi manca l'opera d'alto grido, l'opera che sia una rivelazione. Nel complesso però bisogna convenire che nelle opere esposte si riscontrano degli ingegni vigorosi. Seccato però che quasti ingegni naturali non possano affermarsi con buoni concetti, e questo proprio per dificienza di coltura. Nell'arte industriale c'è poco assai.

29.

Lettera di Michelangelo Guggenheim a Wilhelm von Bode

Venezia, 21 Dicembre 1887

Le confermo la mia d'avant'ieri. Essendo comparso un nuovo opuscolo sui cognomi ed autografi di artisti in Venezia secoli XIV-XVII, mi procuro il piacere d'invarglielo sotto fascia.²³ È un opuscolo interessante tanto più che vi sono dei nomi interessanti d'artisti che apponendo le loro firme su documenti, citavano pure la loro patria. Da ciò una prova incontestabile di quest'ultima. Distintamente La saluto M. Guggenheim

30.

Lettera di Michelangelo Guggenheim a Wilhelm von Bode

Venezia 16 Gennaio 1888

Ho ricevuto la pregiatissima Sua del 13 corr. Per le L 900 (novecento) rimessi al Museo Lo saldato il conto della Pila d'acqua santiera. Ho posto invece a Suo credito in conto placchette le L 2500 (duemillecinquecento) rimessi il 2 corr. Dal Signor Rudolph Kaon [?] di Parigi. [...]

Farò volentieri quant'Ella mi chiede per le 17 Placchette del Museo Correr. Me ne occuperò subito. Ella sa bene però che quando si tratta di cose simili, specialmente da noi non è possibile sfuggire ai regolamenti, e per obbedire a questi, perderò qualche giorno per chiedere ed ottenere l'autorizzazione di far prendere la fotografia.

31.

Lettera di Michelangelo Guggenheim a Wilhelm von Bode

Venezia, li 16 Novembre 1888

Le accuso ricevuta della pregiatissima Sua del 13 corr. A suo tempo ricevetti pure la Kölnische Zeitung e dalla lettura dell'articolo „Zur Förderung der deutschen Kunst” avea [?] diggià compreso esserne Lei l'autore.²⁴ Sto facendone la traduzione, tosto [?] finita verrà riprodotta col Suo nome in uno dei nostri accreditati Giornali, e son sicuro che il suo articolo riescitá veramente interessante alla massa dei nostri artisti.

32.

Lettera di Michelangelo Guggenheim a Wilhelm von Bode

Venezia 25 Nov. 1888

Ho ricevuto la pregiatissima Sua del 22 corr. Allorché fui in Firenze ebbi occasione di vedere il tritico d'avorio bizantino. È una buona cosa nel suo genere sulla di cui originalità non c'è luogo a dubbi, essendo nelle mani della Signora Marchesa Ridolfi, tra le prime famiglie di Firenze. [...]

33.

Lettera di Michelangelo Guggenheim a Wilhelm von Bode

Venezia 22 Giugno 1889

Faccio seguito alla mia d'ieri per prevenirla che oggi stesso Le ho spedito le fotografie dei 4 Battaglioli, e quelle dei 2 Piazzetta. A tergo di ogni fotografia è segnata la misura esatta in altezza ed in larghezza. Ella saprà che il Battaglioli fù allievo del Canaletto, e talvolta vi é tanta assomiglianza fra maestro, e scolare da essere indecisi di chi possa essere un quadro loro cioè se d'uno, o dell'altro. Ella si ricorderà che queste pitture, essendo molto chiare, sono eminentemente decorative. Il prezzo ristretto per i quattro Battaglioli é di L 6000.- (seimille), quello per i 2 Piazzetta L 3000 (tremille)

Ad ogni modo ho piacere che ella tenga memoria di queste pitture, che se anche non sono di grandi maestri hanno un merito artistico incredibile. Io ritengo certamente che verrà tempo in cui opere simili, che ancora oggi non si trovano facilmente, Le si pagheranno ben di più. Non Le dico ciò per illustrare le mie cose, ma soltanto per il piacere di esternare francamente la mia opinione con Lei, onde constatare un fatto, e nella pertuazione che Ella pure non sia lontano dalla mia idea. [...]

34.

Lettera di Michelangelo Guggenheim a Wilhelm von Bode

Venise, le 8 Janvier 1890

Ho ricevuto la Sua cartolina del 5 corr. Come Le ho scritto fino dal 3 corr. Il quadro é stato spedito al signor Hauser di Berlino, e se non vi é ancora arrivato, vi arriverà di questi giorni. Credo che Le farà piacere di sapere che nei *Kunstkritische Studien über Italiensiche Malerei von Lermolieff Leipzig Brockhaus 1890* e precisamente a pagina 311 Nota 3 vi é un cenno che riflette l'interesse artistico di questo quadro.²⁵ [...]

35.

Lettera di Michelangelo Guggenheim a Wilhelm von Bode

Venise, 31 Gennaio 1890

[...] É purtroppo vero che il povero Cattaneo é morto.²⁶ Saranno presto due mesi dalla sua morte. Credendo che Ella sarebbe andato a Vienna, come me ne avea scritto, Le avea anzi mandato un numero di Giornale in cui avea pubblicato un cenno necrologico deplorando l'imatura fine di questo intelligente e studioso giovane. Non essendo più Ella andato a Vienna, il Giornale mi fù ritornato. Ci siamo anzi uniti in un piccolo Comitato per erigere un Ricordo marmoreo a questo fra i migliori allievi della nostra Accademia, e se non Le dispiace vorrei esborsare per Suo conto Lire 10.- perché anch'Ella contribuisse alla raccolta della somma necessaria per questo modesto ricordo. [...]

36.

Lettera di Michelangelo Guggenheim a Wilhelm von Bode

Venise, 6 Febbraio 1890

Ho ricevuto la pregevolissima Sua cartolina postale del 3 corr. In Suo nome verserò Lire 10.- per il ricordo al povero Cattaneo. Le auguro di nuovo buon viaggio, e quando Ella verrà a Venezia, spero di farle vedere delle cosine che Le interesseranno. [...]

37.

Lettera di Michelangelo Guggenheim a Wilhelm von Bode

Venise, 23 aprile 1892

Le confermo la mia del 16 corr. Con la presente La prevengo che Lo ho fatto oggi spedizione della Lampadina che offro in dono al Loro Museo. [...]

38.

Lettera di Michelangelo Guggenheim a Wilhelm von Bode

Venise, 2 Giugno 1892

Le confermo la mia del 26 scorso mese. Dal Signor Oscar Huldsky²⁷ ho ricevuto le Lire 2700 in saldo Lavabo, Camino, e Fontana. Ciò Le partecipo per sola e semplice regolarità. [...]

39.

Lettera di Michelangelo Guggenheim a Wilhelm von Bode

Venise, 25 Marzo 1894

Sto preparando la pubblicazione di una Raccolta di Cornici del XV e del XVI secolo²⁸ e per conseguenza devo ricorrere alla gentilezza dei possessori per avere delle fotografie. So che nel Loro Museo se ne conservano di bellissime, e Le sarei veramente grato, se potesse mandarmi qualche fotografia. [...]

40.

Lettera di Michelangelo Guggenheim a Wilhelm von Bode

Venise, 9 Giugno 1894

[...] Tengo presente la Sua idea di formare nei Musei una Sala di bronzi italiani. Se mi capiteranno dei pezzi che io giudichi per Lei, Ella può esser sicura che come sempre, se mi sarà possibile, ne Le servirò volentieri.

In quanto alla mia pubblicazione sulle Cornici, m'era rivolto prima al Sig. Dr. Lessing,²⁹ poscia all'editore Wasmuth chiedendo il permesso di poter riprodurre qualche cornice dai Vorbilderhefte.³⁰ Nessuno di essi mi rispose e forse il loro silenzio e da interpretarsi in senso negativo. Ricorro pertanto alla Sua squisita gentilezza perche Ella stessa voglia farmi prendere a mie spese le fotografie di quelle cornici che Ella sa bene possono convenire al mio lavoro. [...]

41.

Lettera di Michelangelo Guggenheim a Wilhelm von Bode

Venise, 2 Settembre 1897

Vengo da St. Ulrich³¹ dove mi trovava colla mia famiglia a respirare un'aria piú fresca di quella della Città, e trovo la graditissima Sua del 29 s.m.

Avrei avuto vivissimo piacere di sentire che Ella si fosse rimesso in salute dopo il soggiorno fra i monti. Mi lusingo che la nuova cura del bagno freddo Le sia di grandissimo ristoro. Si ricordi però che contemporaneamente a ciò, Ella deve far forza alla Sua inclinazione, per non applicarsi troppo ai Suoi studi preferiti, ed entrare in un periodo di riposo intellettuale, che Le gioverá assai alla salute. Ella deve necessariamente seguire questi consigli, perché la Sua salute non appartiene a Lei sola, ma [e?andio] alla Sua famiglia e al Suo Paese. [...]

42.

Lettera di Michelangelo Guggenheim a Wilhelm von Bode

Venise, 10 gennaio 1901

[...] Non sono stato alla vendita di Udine. Andró da Dorigo, e cercheró di vedere i capitelli di cui Ella mi scrive e tosto veduti Le riferiró. [...]

43.

Lettera di Michelangelo Guggenheim a Wilhelm von Bode

Venezia li 26 Gennaio 1906

Egregio Dottor Bode

Ella sará meravigliato del mio silenzio, ma il 29 del mese scorso mi é toccato un disgraziato accidente, cioé che passando il traghetto, la barca, ove mi trovavo, fu investita dal vaporino e tagliata a metà; io e il gondoliere fummo sbalzati in mezzo al Canal Grande, e tutto coperto com'era, di sera, col freddo intenso che faceva, Ella può immaginarsi quanto ho dovuto lottare per non annegarmi. Portato a casa dove respiravo appena, subentró il periodo della pleurite [?]. Son passati omai 26 giorni e sto un po' meglio, me debole in causa delle febbri alte sofferte. [...]

44.

Lettera di Michelangelo Guggenheim a Wilhelm von Bode

Venezia, li 3 Marzo 906

Ho ricevuto la carissima Sua del 26 corr. Perché Lei veda la mia buona volontà le spediró presto alcuni disegni di pietre sepolcrali vecchie e due composizioni del genere totalmente nuove. Questo per la parte artistica della quale io mi occupo volentieri.

Il Leone di S. Marco posto su d'una pietra nel cimitero di Venezia non sarebbe adatto; questo anche per convinzione d'altri. Lo credo invece che sulla pietra sepolcrale del povero Ludwig³² si adatterebbe l'aquila germanica stilizzata ed una scritta vi vorrebbe dire chiaramente che la sua predilezione fu per gli studi d'arte veneta.

Come Lei avrà appreso dai giornali, parlando chiaro, la corrente qui a Venezia fra gli artisti ed amatori d'arte non é favorevole ad onoranze pel povero Ludwig e quindi bisognerebbe, come ho scritto al Molmenti,³³ confutare certe asserzioni perché non succeda che il giorno della inaugurazione della pietra onorifica esca qualche voce a denigrare il povero morto. [...]

45.

Lettera di Michelangelo Guggenheim a Wilhelm von Bode

Venezia li 10 Marzo 1906

Le confermo la mia lettera in data 3 corr. Fotografie delle pietre sepolcrali non se ne trovano affatto. Ho dovuto quindi fare tre disegni, tanto per darle un'idea dei migliori tipi. Due disegni però sono nuovi, sempre però ispirati dal vecchio.

Lei potrà dirmi le modificazioni che vorrà ed allora sarà fatto un disegno esatto. Questo disegno intanto servirà come prima idea.

Credo non sarebbe male di servire in greco sul libro che pende giù sul disegno A Pausania ed titolo della sua deserzione dei monumenti della Grecia che si riferiscono anche alla pittura.³⁴ Per uno studioso d'arte, questo scritto come simbolo mi pare potrebbe andare.

bene inteso che per le lapidi Lei dovrebbe preparare subito la scritta in latino, che accennasse alla sua inclinazione particolare per i Pittori veneti. Così farei subito il disegno completo dettagliato nella misura precisa. [...] ³⁵

46.

Lettera di Michelangelo Guggenheim a Wilhelm von Bode

Venise, 18 Febbraio 1908

[...] P.S. Al Monumentino per il povero Ludwig manca ancora qualche piccolissimo ritocco, in settimana sarà finito, e per quando Lei verrà a Venezia, anche se io non ci fossi Lei lo troverà pronto nel mio Stabilimento messo in opera provvisoriamente alfine che Ella possa giudicare bene l'insieme e stabilire nell'istesso tempo il giorno che Lei fisserà per la collocazione definitiva alfin ch'io possa fare le pratiche necessarie.³⁶

47.

Lettera di Michelangelo Guggenheim a Wilhelm von Bode

Venezia 23 Dicembre 1909

[...] A proposito di quanto Ella mi scrive in detta ultima Sua lettera, purtroppo l'invidia e la cattiveria sono sempre all'ordine del giorno.³⁷ Non so, se Lei ricordi l'apologo del Rospo e la Lucciola. „Il Rospo in un frantuno [?], vedendo brillare una lucciola, con una zampata la coperse di fango. La lucciola allora gli chiese: – O Rospo, perché mi imbratti [?] ? – Perche splendi, esso rispose.” Questa é la storia d'ogni giorno, che si ripete soprattutto per chi – come Lei – può andar superbo di quanto ha fatto in tutto lo scibile artistico, a favore del suo paese. [...]

Notes

- 1 Anna Tüskés, *A velencei díszítő kőfaragás kérdései a koraközépkori és románkori kútkávák tükrében* (*Questions of Venetian Ornamental Sculpture in the Light of the Early Medieval and Romanesque Well-Heads*), tesi di dottorato PhD in Storia dell'arte discussa nel novembre 2009 (Budapest: Università Eötvös Loránd, Facoltà di Lettere, Dipartimento di Storia dell'Arte); Anna Tüskés, “Comprare un pezzo di

- Venezia: Vere da pozzo nella letteratura e nel commercio d'arte," *Zbornik za umetnostno zgodovino* Nova Vrsta 45 (2009): 111–132; Anna Tüskés, "Venetian well-heads in nineteenth-century taste," *Sculpture Journal* 19.1 (2010): 49–61; Anna Tüskés, "Deux sculptures vénitiennes dans les collections du musée du Louvre," *La revue des musées de France / Revue du Louvre* 60 (Octobre 2010) Nr. 4: 36–45; Anna Tüskés, "Vere da pozzo veneziane in Ungheria," *Commentari d'arte* 17 (2011) Nr. 48: 61–74.
- 2 Manfred Ohlsen, *Wilhelm von Bode zwischen Kaisermacht und Kunstempel. Biographie* (Berlin, 1995); *Wilhelm von Bode als Zeitgenosse der Kunst*. Zum 150. Geburtstag. Nationalgalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Ausstellung vom 9. Dezember 1995 bis 25. Februar 1996, Ausstellung und Katalog: Angelika Wesenberg (Berlin, 1995); Valerie Niemeyer Chini, *Stefano Bardini e Wilhelm Bode* (Firenze: Polistampa, 2009).
 - 3 'Antiquities. At the famous establishment of Della Rovere, formerly Marcato, 2277 S. Fosca, everything Venetian, from the largest *pozzo* to the smallest lamp, may be obtained. Church-builders will do well to look here for their altars and ornaments.' A. J. C. Hare, *Venice* (London: George Allen, 1896), 3.
 - 4 Pompelo Molmenti, *Ferdinando Ongania* (Venezia, 1912); *Enciclopedia Italiana*, Vol. XXV. (Roma, 1935), 373; *Dizionario Enciclopedico Italiano*, Vol. VII. (Roma, 1958), 563.
 - 5 Stefania Moronato, "La collezione di tessuti Michelangelo Guggenheim," *Bollettino dei Musei Civici Veneziani d'Arte e di Storia* N.S. 30.1986 (1988), 205–212; Letizia Tasso, "Michelangelo Guggenheim e le Civiche Raccolte veneziane," *Bollettino dei Musei Civici Veneziani* III serie (2011) Nr. 6: 136–141.
 - 6 Moronato, 1986; Tasso, 2011.
 - 7 "Ferdinando Ongania editore e la basilica di San Marco," Quaderni della Procuratoria, Vol. 5 (Venezia: Marsilio, 2010).
 - 8 Mostra ideata e curata da Irene Favaretto ed Ettore Vio, catalogo a cura di Maria Da Villa Urbani.
 - 9 Ringrazio il direttore Jörn Grabowski ed i collaboratori del Zentralarchiv, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, per aver potuto consultare il loro archivio e per alcune preziose indicazioni datemi.
 - 10 Nachlass Bode 6187. Fonti 10–14.
 - 11 Nachlass Bode 3978. Fonti 8–9.
 - 12 Nachlass Bode 6186. Fonti 1–6.
 - 13 Nachlass Bode 3514. Fonti 15–22.
 - 14 Nachlass Bode 2251. Fonti 23–47.
 - 15 Oscar Huldsky (1846–1931), industriale e collezionista d'arte. E. F. Bange, *Die sammlung Oscar Huldsky* (Berlin: P. Cassirer, 1928).
 - 16 Max Jakob Friedländer (1867–1958), conoscitore d'arte e storico d'arte. Scrisse libri sulla pittura fiamminga. Friedrich Winkler, "Max Jacob Friedländer," in *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, Vol. V. (Berlin, 1961), 455–456.
 - 17 Azienda di spedizioni internazionali.
 - 18 Bartolomeo Cecchetti (1838–1889), archivista e direttore dell'Archivio (dal 1876). Paolo Preto, "Cecchetti, Bartolomeo," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 23 (Trecciani, 1979), 227–230.

- 19 Bartolomeo Cecchetti, *Statistica degli atti custoditi nella sezione notarile* (Venezia, 1886).
- 20 Bartolomeo Cecchetti, *La vita dei Veneziani nel 1300. Le vesti* (Venezia, 1886).
- 21 Bartolomeo Cecchetti, "Saggio di cognomi ed autografi di artisti in Venezia nei secoli XIV–XVII," *Archivio Veneto* 33 (1887).
- 22 Wilhelm von Bode, *Italienische Bildhaurer der Renaissance: Studien* (Berlin, 1887).
- 23 Cecchetti, 1887.
- 24 Wilhelm Bode, "III. Internationale Kunstausstellung, München 1888: Zur Förderung der deutschen Kunst," *Kölnische Zeitung* N300, Zweites Blatt, Sonntag, 28. Oktober 1888. Pubblicato anche qui: *Wilhelm von Bode als Zeitgenosse der Kunst*, 1995, 87–94.
- 25 „Das Originalbild des Giambellino wurde auch von Rocco Marconi, allein in grössern Verhältnissen als hier von Bissolo copirt. Der ehrlichere Marconi bezeichnete jedoch seine Copie mit dem eigenen Namen. Das Bild des Rocco Marconi befand sich noch im Jahre 1888 im Besitze des bekannten Antiquars Comm. M. Guggenheim in Venedig. Auch Giulio Campagnola aus Padua scheint gar manches Bild des Giambellino copirt zu haben (siehe "Archivio storico dell'arte", Fasc. V, 184)."
- 26 Raffaele Cattaneo (Rovigo 1861 – Venezia 1889), architetto. Progettò fra l'altro l'Oriatorio delle Teresiane a Treviso (1882–84) e la tomba di Pio IX per S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura a Roma (1883). Noto il suo libro su *L'architettura in Italia dal sec. VI al Mille circa* (1889). Elena Bassi, "Cattaneo, Raffaele," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* Vol. 23 (Trecciani, 1979), 481–482.
- 27 Vedi n. 15.
- 28 Michelangelo Guggenheim, *Le Cornici Italiane dalle metà del Secolo XV allo Scorcio del XVI*. (Milano: Ulrico Hoepli, 1897).
- 29 Julius Lessing (1843–1908), storico d'arte e primo direttore del Berliner Kunstgewerbemuseum. Konrad Feilchenfeldt, "Lessing, Julius," in *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, Vol. 14. (Berlin, 1985), 350–351.
- 30 Julius Lessing, *Rahmen. 1–4. Vorbilder–Hefte aus dem Kgl. Kunstgewerbe–Museum, Berlin* (Berlin: Wasmuth Verlag, 1888).
- 31 Forse Sankt Ulrich in Gröden, Sud-Tirol, Italia.
- 32 Gustav Ludwig (1852–1905), storico d'arte. Autore di numerosi saggi sull'arte veneziana del Rinascimento ed una monografia su Vittore Carpaccio.
- 33 Pompeo Gherardo Molmenti (1852–1928), scrittore, storico e studioso di storia dell'arte. Scrisse saggi su V. Carpaccio, 1906, e su G. B. Tiepolo, 1909 e il libro *La pittura veneziana*, 1903. *Dizionario Enciclopedico Italiano* Vol. VII. (Roma, 1958), 865; Maria Giovanna Sarti, "Molmenti, Pompeo Gherardo," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* Vol. 75. (Roma, 2011), 431–437.
- 33 Pausania il Periegeta (110–180), scrittore e geografo greco antico. La sua opera, in dieci libri, s'intitola Periegesi della Grecia (*Hellados Perieghésis*). Per periegesi s'intende quel filone storiografico, soprattutto di epoca ellenistica, che, intorno a un itinerario geografico, raccoglie notizie storiche sui popoli, persone e località. Pausania, *Guida della Grecia*, a cura di Domenico Musti e Mario Torelli Vol. 1–10. (Milano, 1997–).

- 35 Continua la storia del monumento funebre di Ludwig nella lettera datata 24 Marzo 1906 con il problema dell'iscrizione. Il 12 Giugno 1906 Guggenheim manda la foto del luogo del futuro monumento a Bode e domanda se il materiale sia marmo o pietra. Il 10 Luglio 1906 Guggenheim domanda se la composizione del monumento sia orizzontale o verticale. Il 21 Febr. 1907 Guggenheim era andato nel cimitero per misurare le dimensioni e stabilisce la composizione. Il materiale sarà pietra d'Istria, e l'iscrizione: "A Gustavo Ludwig il Comune. Natus 1852 Obiit Venetii 1905"
- 36 Continua la storia del monumento funebre di Ludwig nella lettera datata 12 Giugno 1908 con il problema della data dell'inaugurazione e dell'iscrizione. Il 21 Giugno 1908 Guggenheim scrive che l'inaugurazione era avvenuta il 19 e che tutto era andato bene. Riferisce anche che il monumento e l'inaugurazione era costato 1390 lire in tutto, e chiede aiuto nella pubblicazione di un libretto con la fotografia del monumento, i discorsi dell'inaugurazione e l'iscrizione in tedesco.
- 37 Riferimento al celebre scandalo della *Flora*: nel 1909 Bode, acquistò sul mercato antiquario questo busto in cera, attribuendolo senza esitazione a Leonardo da Vinci (l'opera si trova ora conservata al Bode Museum). Poco dopo però iniziò a circolare la voce che l'autore dell'opera fosse in realtà lo scultore inglese Richard Cockle Lucas e il figlio di Lucas confermò la notizia attraverso un articolo sul *The Burlington Magazine*. La polemica intorno alla *Flora* di Berlino infuriò per anni.

Shades of Japonisme in Hungarian Set and Costume Design Around the Turn of the 20th Century

Mirjam Dénes

The effect of Japanese art on European modern art movements from the second half of the 19th century is already a well-known phenomenon.¹ After the official cease of the isolation of Japan in 1853, the resumption of political and commercial connections between Japan and the West made way to a broad scale of possibilities in cultural and technological exchange. The main aim of cultural policy in the Meiji era was to show an open-minded attitude towards Western culture and as a consequence, Japanese culture became one of the central interests of Western people. Japan was a regular and ever-popular guest of European World Exhibitions, collecting Japanese artefacts was en vogue, not to mention the popularity of salons decorated with Buddhas and colourful fans.²

Admiration of Japan was present in dramatic art and in the entertainment industry as well. Japanese acrobats and ballet-pantomimes were on repertoire at the Parisian Folies-Bergère and at Teatro Eldorado in Barcelona, while operettas and musical comedies were written by English, French, Italian, and Spanish composers, all set in the exotic Japan.³ *La Princesse Jaune* by Saint-Saëns (1872), *Madame Chrysanthème* by Messager (1893), *Iris* by Mascagni (1898), *The Mikado* by Gilbert and Sullivan (1885), and *The Geisha* by Sidney Jones (1896) presented the same colourful and fairytale-like vision that was so familiar to European eyes. Since most Westerners had hardly ever seen an actual Japanese person, they readily accepted the authenticity of the figures depicted on screens and ceramics.⁴

“Visit any contemporary art gallery or exhibition, the studio of any artist, sculptor or decorator and you will see, as clear as day, the influence of Japonism [...]”⁵ The citation above can be read in the Catalan magazine *La Ilustración Artística* in 1896. In works of many contemporary artists the touch of Japanese art can be discovered in two ways: through the stylistic characteristics that derive from the Japanese tradition of woodblock prints and through using symbols and objects that have a special iconographic value in traditional Japanese art. A few examples to the former are the appearance of truncated objects on paintings, using vertical, pillar-like picture formats, the popularity of silhouettes and linearity, the common use of diagonal composition, and the lack of perspective. Examples of iconography are the appearance of cranes, herons, carps, insects, butterflies, dragonflies, bamboo, peonies, and chrysanthemum, and the stylised or not stylised wave motif on either paintings and graphics, or as decoration on

artefacts. Japanese art influenced not only Western artists like Monet, Manet, Degas, Whistler, van Gogh, Picasso, Toulouse-Lautrec, Bredasley, Klimt, Mucha, Munch, Lalique, Tiffany and Gallé, but also many Hungarians like Székely, Rippl-Rónai, Vaszary, Körösfői, Jaschik, Karlovsky and Zsolnay. The art-historical term to describe this phenomenon which started its journey at the 1867 Paris World Exhibition and lasted more than 50 years was coined as Japonisme, either referring to fine and applied arts or to a general interest of the public towards Japanese culture.

In my paper, I will distinguish among different terms used in connection with Japanese influence on European art. I will concentrate on a specific genre and a specific time and place: Japonisme in Hungarian theatrical set and costume designs between 1886 and 1936. In most texts, Japonisme was used as a generic/all-encompassing term, or the terms Japonisme, Japonaiserie and Japonerie were used interchangeably. Only Michael Sullivan gives a clear definition of each notion in his book, *The Meeting of Eastern and Western Art*, where he writes:

“On Japanese influence on the Impressionists I have used three terms that sound similar but mean very different things. Japonaiserie has to do with the creation of a Japanese effect in a picture by adding fans, kimonos, vases, screens and other oriental paraphernalia; Monet’s *La Japonaise* is a good example. Japonisme involves serious concern with Japanese pictorial techniques and may or may not include Japanese accessories; Manet’s *Zola* is a fairly primitive example, van Gogh’s *Bedroom in Arles* is a very advanced one. Japonerie is a word applied chiefly to rather frivolous objects made in the Japanese manner.”⁶

Although Sullivan uses the terms only for describing visual arts and only for the period of French Impressionism and Post-impressionism, Amanda Steadman argues that the same notions can be used equally for describing musical pieces.⁷ She not only changes the genre in discussion from visual arts to music, but also applies Michael Sullivan’s terms to a much longer period, beginning with Gilbert and Sullivan’s musical comedy, *The Mikado* (premiered in 1885) and finishing with Olivier Messiaen’s *Sept Haïkai* (written in 1962).

Steadman, contrary to Sullivan, does not categorise each work by one of the three terms, but she shows the different characteristics of Japonerie, Japonaiserie and Japonisme found in these works.⁸ Although the majority of the discussed works are not composed for stage, she dedicates the category of Japonerie only to visual elements, thus using it only when examining *The Mikado* and *Madama Butterfly*. In doing so, she has created a rigid and (considering the slight difference in signification of Japo-terms) superficial categorisation.

When summarising the characteristics of Japonerie, she writes: “Visual elements such as props, costumes and sets are an audience’s first clue toward an exotic location, and as such do not necessarily need to be from that location, but merely suggestive of that place. The same holds true for an opera attempting to recreate a different time. It is unnecessary to use antique furniture or costumes, one only needs to have things which look old.”⁹ In Steadman’s reasoning, all theatrical works that contain elements that look like a Japanese fan, a kimono, or a branch of a blossoming cherry tree should be named Japonerie without observing their aim, quality, or authenticity.

This paper aims to be an antithesis of Steadman's, showing that all theatrical plays planted in Japanese ambience can be categorised by the three terms of Sullivan by examining the particulars of sets and costumes and overall ambience that designers were to suggest. I concentrate on a certain period, between 1886 and 1936, when several theatrical plays set in Japanese environment were on stage in Hungary. The Budapest premiere of *The Mikado* by Gilbert and Sullivan marks the beginning of the period, and *A roninok kincse* (*The Ronins' Treasure*), a dramatic play by the Hungarian playwright Miklós Kállay finishes this "Japonist" era. Both of the Hungarian and non-Hungarian plays were presented on Hungarian stages with great success. In addition, the plays in discussion were shown abroad too, so a wider range of reviews are available for us to qualify these works.

On the one hand, my purpose is to demonstrate that the history of Hungarian theatre indeed had a period that can be described as Japonisme (generic term). On the other hand, by examining dramatic works, both Hungarian and international, set on stage in Hungary, I will demonstrate that a clear classification of Japan-related plays is possible through the examination of sets and costumes, by using the triad of notions offered by Sullivan.

Japonerie

Following Sullivan's thread, one can define Japonerie in theatrical works as: usage of costumes, objects, and elements of scenery on stage, which tend to follow Japanese originals but with no urge for authenticity (in fabric, technique, size, style, structure, etc.), in order to reach a general image that evokes the sensation of Japan in the viewer's fantasy.

Although Sullivan does not show examples for Japonerie in Impressionism and Post-impressionism, Steadman finds an example: "Van Gogh's copies of woodcuts might also be considered under this category, as they are not unique objects, but instead created after Japanese models."¹⁰ The pieces of the series got the titles *Japonaiserie: Bridge in the Rain*, *Japonaiserie: Flowering Plum Tree*, *Japonaiserie: Oiran*, the first two of which are copies of woodblock prints by Hiroshige, and the third one by Keisai Eisen.¹¹ In our case, the word Japonaiserie in the title gives a ground to confusion, as van Gogh used it in another sense, which can be traced through his letters written to his brother in 1888.¹² By examining the contexts, one can see that he uses the expression in most cases for Japanese woodblock print. Thus it can be assumed that in pictures, where he intentionally copied Japanese woodblock prints, the word Japonaiserie in the title simply refers to the source, the original artwork, and has no suggestions with regard to the style or the manner in which it was made. The artworks get closer to van Gogh and at the same time more distant from being "Japanese" by adding painted frames, using different technique, material (oil on canvas), style and format. They create a Japanese sensation without the slightest intention of authenticity, thus they are objects of Japonerie.

Among theatrical works discussed here, two fit my definition of Japonerie: *The Mikado* by Gilbert and Sullivan and *The Geisha* by Sidney Jones. Both come from England originally and both are members of a generation of plays in which Japanese people are considered as funny, exotic, operetta-like, and unreal figures surrounded by colourful, decorative objects of the East.

According to the legend, *The Mikado* was inspired by a Japanese sword that fell on the ground from the wall of Gilbert's study. Although the original source of the story is unknown, it has become part of the literature on the birth of *The Mikado*. However, considering the enthusiasm for everything Japanese in Victorian England, a Japanese sword on a study's wall seems quite natural: as natural as the idea in a playwright's mind to write a Japanese-themed piece to take advantage of a current fashion.¹³ Interest in Japan was at its highest peak in Britain when the 'Japanese village' of Knightsbridge (exhibition and theme park with a population of ca. 100 native Japanese) was opened in 1885.¹⁴ The playbill from 1885 says: "The management desires to acknowledge the valuable assistance afforded by the directors and native inhabitants of the Japanese village, Knightsbridge."¹⁵ To give actors a more Japanese-like character, Gilbert hired some of the villagers to teach them appropriate posture, gestures, mimics, and movements with fans.¹⁶ His act could be seen as a will of authenticity, had he not written the lyrics of the opening choir in a totally different manner: "If you want to know who we are,/We are gentlemen of Japan;/On many a vase and jar,/On many a screen and fan,/We figure in



Fig. 1. Hawes Craven: Set design for *The Mikado* by Gilbert & Sullivan. Act I. Savoy Theatre, London, 1885. London, Victoria&Albert Museum. Inv. no. S.252-1999. Watercolour on paper. 1885.

© Victoria & Albert Museum, London

lively paint:/Our attitude's queer and quaint,/You're wrong if you think it ain't, oh!"¹⁷ Most critics and researchers agree on *The Mikado* being a parody of Victorian British society and its rigid manners, and Gilbert's insisting on the authenticity of the play is a mere effort to put a gloss on the truth: the play is about the English.

The original set design of Act I by Hawes Craven is preserved in the Victoria & Albert Museum and, as indicated in the libretto, it takes place in "The courtyard of Ko-Ko's Palace in Titipu."¹⁸ (Fig. 1) The set shows us a place framed by trees in pink blossoms on the left, a facade of a decorated house with a big terrace on the right and a lake in the background with a five-storey pagoda on the other shore. Regarding architectural elements, the view can be freely considered as Japanese or Chinese. The structure of the palace of Ko-Ko can be identified with that of gates surrounding shrines in Japan around 1700. A similar building was the main gate of the Yusho-in mausoleum at Shibapark, Tokyo, where shogun Tokugawa Ietsugu was buried after his death in 1716. The building can be known from archive photos taken around 1870.¹⁹ The structure of the roof and that of the facade are similar to those of the gate building, but the structure used by Craven is clearly non-functional for its purpose. Chinese elements of the picture are the geometrically shaped wooden fences, the continental structure of the palace (differing from the usual Japanese structures, the floor of which are held by timbers several inches over the ground), and the pagoda by the other side of the lake. Although pagodas are present in Japanese sacral architecture (mainly in a Buddhist milieu) they are also widespread in Nepal, India, Korea, Vietnam or Burma, so they are not the proper elements to articulate the "Japaneseness" of a landscape. Even more confusing is the presence of two Toriis (shintoist wooden gates) in the garden. As Toriis are traditional and official entrances of shinto shrines they should hardly appear in a private garden of a high-ranking officer (Lord High Executioner).

The same superficial approach can be traced when examining the costumes. Charles Ricketts, costume designer for the play's revival in London in 1926 describes these costumes as "...nothing but a dready dressing-gown style unlike anything Japanese..."²⁰ In fact, almost every character appeared in a costume that showed resemblance to kimonos in general, but their tailoring was much closer to female dressing-gowns and their abundant floral patterns to brocade with lace. Artificial flowers were added to female costumes and the inevitable large paper fans were stuck in every character's hands, as it can be seen in most archived pictures.²¹ *The Mikado* premiered in Hungary on 10 December 1886, in Népszínház (Folk Theatre) with a Hungarian cast, but it followed English patterns.²²

Another play with a Japanese venue premiered in Hungary after its general success in London, New York, and Berlin. *The Geisha* by Sidney Jones debuted in Daly's Theatre, London on 25 April 1896, and on 16 October 1897 in Budapest as the opening piece for the inauguration of Magyar Színház (Hungarian Theatre).²³ It seems to have been a coincidence that the same play debuted in Vienna's Karlstheater on the very same day. But considering its enormous popularity wherever it had been shown before, the premier of *The Geisha* must have been rather a matter of prestige in the bi-centred Austro-Hungarian Empire.²⁴ A review in The New York Times says about the sets: "The piece was tastefully mounted, with two purely ideal views of Japan, in which the roses and chrysanthemums bloom as naturally as possible."²⁵ It also states that "of course, is



Fig. 2. Unknown Photographer: *The Geisha* by Sidney Jones. Király Színház, Budapest, 1912. Budapest, OSZMI. Inv. no. A247.1/10. Photograph. 1912. © OSZMI, Budapest

not a bit Japanese, except in a Western and frivolous way.” Yoko Kawaguchi, in his book *Serene Gardens: Creating Japanese Design and Detail in the Western Garden* explains how unnatural this set was indeed: “The curtains opened on a view of the Tea-house of Ten Thousand Joys, with geishas posing on a humpbacked red bridge spanning a carp-pond. Flowers were used to establish the “Japanese” setting: in the first act, wisteria dripped from the eaves of the tea-house (though wisteria is never grown against a house in Japan); in the second, the stage was overflowing with chrysanthemums, which flowers much later (though no time was supposed to have passed between the acts).”²⁶

Although I have not found visual sources of the sets used in Magyar Színház, archives of the play in Király Színház (King Theatre) 15 years later may refer to the original scenery.²⁷ (Fig. 2) The stage was covered by a tent of blossoming tree branches with an arsenal of paper lanterns hanging from them. The background reveals the contours of pagoda-like buildings and the silhouette of a humpbacked wooden bridge. On other photographs even details of buildings are visible: a timber framed construction rich in ogee arches decorated with bright (possibly gold) motifs.²⁸ This type of building exists only in the imagination of Western people but not in Japan.

Even less authentic is the presence of the Gaiety Girls during the play in London. These elegant ladies, wearing haut couture in accordance with the very latest fashion, often showed up in musical comedies beginning in the 1890s at the Gaiety Theatre and also at Daly’s to make shows more spectacular by their dancing and singing, also, to advertise the latest fashion.²⁹ The Gaiety Girls playing English ladies visiting Japan in spectacular western dresses resulted in a striking contrast to the other part of the cast in Japanese costumes. Also, the Hungarian audience could observe something very non-Japanese and

unexpected. The main characters (Sári Fedák and Márton Rátkay) performed the Hungarian version of Alexander's Ragtime Band, hit of the time by Irving Berlin in kimonos.³⁰

To summarize the above, musical plays of the late 19th century set in Japan tried to create an atmosphere on stage that resembled Japan but with small attention to details. The addition of extra show elements that had nothing to do with Japan but were parts of the musical comedy tradition, sacrificed authenticity in order to become fashionable. By doing so, they corresponded with the rather frivolous character of what was originally defined as Japonerie by Sullivan.

Japonaiserie

When describing Japonaiserie, Sullivan mentions *La Japonese*, a picture by Claude Monet depicting his wife in a large red kimono surrounded by fans on the walls.³¹ The picture corresponds with his definition: "creation of a Japanese effect in a picture by adding fans, kimonos, vases, screens and other oriental paraphernalia." Steadman adds: "in the context of an otherwise western painting."³² Following our parallel example of fine arts, the shades of Japonisme in van Gogh's paintings, we can mention another good example, the portrait of Père Tanguy.³³ In the portrait of the old colour-dealer, the background is totally covered with Japanese woodcut prints, but neither in Monet's nor in van Gogh's picture can we trace the intention of using Japanese pictorial traditions (e.g. linearity or two-dimensional depiction), and both have European subjects.

Talking about theatrical plays planted in Japan, a search for Western context is irrelevant, so another point of view is needed. This viewpoint must be in relation to the aspects used when defining Japonerie, that is, constructing the Japanese effect. We summarised Japonerie in sets and costumes, as a construction made of unauthentic or hardly authentic objects and other ones not Japanese at all, to evoke the sensation of Japan. In comparison, those plays which I call works of Japonaiserie urge to represent Japan as authentically as possible through elements of set and costume, designed in detail and with special attention to following Japanese cultural tradition. Works of such a genre are often based on pictorial and/or literal sources and a careful research by set designers. By this studious approach, the scenery becomes authentic in its details, but the general sensation is rather a hybrid.

Two representations of the same story on Hungarian stage correspond to our definition. The story of a temporary marriage between the American naval officer and the Japanese geisha is well known since the novel *Madame Chrysanthe* by Pierre Loti. The story, based on historical facts, was a source of inspiration for André Messager's opera with the same title and for John Luther Long's short story, *Madame Butterfly*.³⁴ The two plays that were staged in Hungary in the first years of the 20th century derive from Long's story: *Madame Butterfly*, a one-act drama by the American playwright David Belasco, and *Madama Butterfly*, tragedia giapponese by the Italian opera composer Giacomo Puccini.³⁵

Belasco's drama debuted at Vígszínház on 15 October 1901.³⁶ Until now, I have found only one picture in relation to the performance. (Fig. 3) It shows the protagonist,



Fig. 3. Strelisky: Ilka Pálmay as the main character in *Madame Butterfly* by David Belasco. Vígsház, Budapest, 1901. Budapest, OSZK Színháztörténeti Tár. Inv. no. 932/1955 (DKA-002974) Photograph. 1901. © OSZK Színháztörténeti Tár, Budapest

screen, Buddhist altar, and smaller personal objects like mirror and boxes in Japanese style) the atmosphere resembles more of a salon of a European collector of oriental objects than a traditional Japanese house.³⁹ Not only do the sets have attempts of authenticity but also do the costumes and the on-stage appearance of Butterfly. Pálmay, who played the main role, insisted on being trained to move and dance in a Japanese way by none other than Sadayakko, the famous Japanese actress and ex-geisha touring Europe at that time, and that her costumes are copies of kimonos worn by Sadayakko.⁴⁰

Puccini's *Madama Butterfly* premiered at Hungarian State Opera House on 12 May 1906.⁴¹ The sets and costumes follow the scheme of those used in Teatro alla Scala, but with several changes. By 1906, the superintendent of the Opera House was Jenő Kéméndy, but both the lack of any sign in his legacy regarding *Madama Butterfly* and the undeniable similarity between the sets of Teatro alla Scala and those of Budapest confirm that the setting of the production was more like a "Puccini-franchise" (or better to say "Ricordi-franchise" considering that publisher Giulio Ricordi owned all rights of the production) than an individual artwork of a Hungarian set designer. (Fig. 4) The spatial arrangement remains the same and the Japanese furniture and decorative elements can also

Ilka Pálmay, in a kimono-like costume seated by a round-shaped window. The background is decorated with bamboo motifs. Even though only small parts of the settings are visible, they are sufficient to make deductions. The round-shaped window and the bamboo-patterned wall are characteristic elements of the set used at the premier of *Madama Butterfly* at Teatro alla Scala in 1904. However, the pictorial source of the interior depicted in the Milan production does not derive directly from Japan, but from New York. Numerous photos are preserved in Archivio Storico Ricordi (publisher of Puccini's works), that show the scenes used at the New York premier of Belasco's *Madame Butterfly*.³⁷ Mercedes Viale Ferrero, in her paper: *Riflessioni sulle scenografie pucciniane*, says the following about the sets of Belasco: "La costruzione di Belasco era in effetti abbastanza esatta quanto alle strutture della «casa a soffitto», sommatoria invece quanto agli arredi e agli ornamenti, vera paccottiglia."³⁸ With its colourful and decorated walls (as if the whole surface was covered with kakemonos and woodcut prints) and a rich collection of Japanese objects (vases,



Fig. 4. Unknown Photographer: Act II. of *Madama Butterfly* by Giacomo Puccini. Magyar Királyi Operaház (Hungarian Royal Opera), Budapest, 1906. Budapest, Magyar Állami Operaház Archívuma. Photograph. 1931. © Magyar Állami Operaház Archívuma, Budapest

be found in the same arrangement as on the Milanese or New York stages. No trace can be found, however, of the objects designed in art nouveau style that were seen in sketches for the Milanese sets. The painted bamboo forests and kakemono imitations disappeared; instead, geometrical patterns were used (often applied to ornate Japanese cloths, porcelains, swords and other objects of applied arts, but never walls), which can be seen as a certain tendency towards purism. At the upper part of the walls, black characters were painted to imitate Japanese calligraphy but have no meaning. Even the *Sudare* (bamboo blinds) by the windows facing the garden were decorated following Japanese traditions. These particulars created a much simpler, purer, less bazaar-like interior than the previous stage productions did, but as a whole it was still far from Japanese aesthetic forms.

The Premier of *Madama Butterfly* in the Opéra-Comique, Paris in December 1906 brought a very different approach in terms of staging. The structure of the house got simpler and more authentic with the elevated floor and the cancellation of the staircase; its walls became white framed by undecorated timbers, the floor was covered with *tatami*. The *mise-en-scène* of director Albert Carré used accurate expressions to describe Japanese objects used on stage (*shoji*, *kakemono*, *hibachi*) and gave sufficient description of those, whose names he did not know.⁴² Mercedes Viale Ferrero comments on a letter of Luigi Illica, librettist of Puccini, typifying the new sets as a Japanese woodcut print: “Perché se Illica intendeva che la scena sembrava veramente una stampa giapponese, aveva ragione; ma le stampe giapponesi non hanno nulla di vero [emphasis added by Viale Ferrero] in senso fotografico, sono immagini traslate, cifrate, stilizzate.”⁴³ So the sets of Paris act as a link between Japonaiserie and Japonisme. In

their minucious accuracy on details they still stick to the former one, but the attempt of stylisation and translation described above shows the way towards Japonisme.

Japonisme

Linearity, strong contours, application of the same shade of colour on large surfaces, neglect of perspective or depicting such objects that do not correspond with the laws of perspective, depiction of truncated objects, an attempt of decorativeness: these are some characteristics of Japonisme in visual arts that can also be found when beholding *The bedroom in Arles* by van Gogh. The works carried out in 1888-89 were Sullivan's advanced example on Japonisme in modern art, and correspond to the author's definition in terms of not containing any special Japanese elements or objects but applying stylistic and compositional elements of traditional Japanese art.⁴⁴

Just like when discussing the previous categories, we cannot neglect the Japanese theme in the case of Japonisme in theatre. Discussion can not even be based on our Japanese pictorial techniques when defining Japonisme, instead, we must regard traditional and contemporary Japanese architecture, theatre and attire, and a certain knowledge of history and politics. As an example, I wish to show two very different pieces in attempt of creating a Japanese ambience. Both are works by Hungarian playwrights, *Taifun* by Menyhért (or Melchior) Lengyel from 1909 and *A roninok kincse* (*The ronins' treasure*) by Miklós Kállay from 1936.

Taifun tells the story of a colony of Japanese people living in Berlin at the turn of the century. The main character, Dr. Tokeramo's mission is to study European innovations of economy, engineering, law, and medicine in secret, so as to be able to use them in Japan later. As the story is set in Berlin, the actors wear European clothes and the stage is set in European style. Japanese objects only occur at the moments of nostalgia or when a traditional Japanese act is performed (e.g. tea ceremony). These objects are extremely authentic (as a photo depicting Gyula Hegedűs as Tokeramo shows it), but it is worth mentioning that the tie visible under his kimono shows his assimilation to the West and that the use of the kimono is mere traditionalism.⁴⁵ (Fig. 5) A new and modern Japan is being presented in this play, a country that develops more quickly than any other country at the beginning of the 20th century, a growth which results in the war with the Russian Empire for land. The country that is thought to be well known from woodcut prints does not exist anymore. "Recognizing that in thirty or forty years the Japanese had «passed from Asiatic barbarism to the most advanced European civilisation» and now possessed an army and navy as good as their own, some saw this as «the yellow race threatening the white race for the first time since Genghis Khan» [...]"⁴⁶ The premier of the play in Copenhagen (uniquely in Europe) was a great fiasco. The audience complained about spoiling the idea of the romantic Japan existing in their imagination caused by the actors wearing western pieces of clothing and by the lack of oriental paraphernalia.⁴⁷ It was successful, however, in Berlin, Vienna, London, and Paris, which fact confirms that the romantic image of Japan was not interesting anymore in most parts of Europe.⁴⁸



Fig. 5. Unknown Photographer: Gyula Hegedűs as Dr. Tokeramo Nitope in *Taifun* by Menyhért Lengyel. Vígszínház, Budapest, 1909. Budapest, OSZMI. Inv. no. B67.1/2. Photograph. 1909. © OSZMI, Budapest



Fig. 6. Álmós Jaschik: Main hall of the Kira castle. Set design for *The Ronin's Treasure* (A roninok kincse by Miklós Kállay). Nemzeti Színház (National Theatre), Budapest, 1936. Budapest, OSZK Színháztörténeti Tár. Inv. no. KE 4295 (DKA-003248). Tempera on paper. 1936. © OSZK Színháztörténeti Tár, Budapest

The Ronin's Treasure premiered at Nemzeti Színház (National Theatre) on 24 May 1936. The set and costume designer Álmós Jaschik made an enormous effort to guarantee the highest level of possible authenticity to illustrate the history-based story, Chūshingura. He didn't even call the working process 'designing' but rather 'collecting'.⁴⁹ His research covers a selection of pieces of clothing in period, with adequate colours, patterns and accessories, and the name of each one in Japanese. According to Jaschik's notebook (today in the National Museum and Institute of Theatre History - Országos Színháztörténeti Múzeum és Intézet) he used the images from Julius Kurth's *The Japanese Woodcut - Der Japanische Holzschnitt* as pictorial sources.⁵⁰ In order to focus the audience's attention on the characters (as traditional Japanese theatre also focuses mainly on performing abilities and not on settings), he tried to create a set as simple and modest as possible.⁵¹ (Fig. 6) He didn't stage furniture or decorative objects and the background was under-tinted. In contrast, though he tried to stay loyal to his antitypes, he used abstraction and stylization to favour the public, by enlarging patterns and tailoring and by intensifying colours on costumes.⁵² These forms of stylization derived either from traditional kabuki theatre, or from Jaschik's direct scenic source, the performance of the Tsutsui Troup in Budapest in 1930.⁵³ He used the same structure of set as the Japanese troupe did, and applied many characteristics used in the foreign production: large, wide, slow movements of actors that corresponded to the abstraction of Japanese theatre. By applying these scenic characteristics, Jaschik succeeded in exceeding naturalism, and creating abstraction on Hungarian stage by means of Japonisme.

By examining both performances, we can conclude that Japonisme always derives from profound knowledge of several segments of Japanese culture, and only after the application of this scientific approach can stylistic elements of Japonisme be used in order to create a new work of art inspired by Japan.

After examining stage productions within a period of fifty years in Hungary, it may seem that Japonerie, Japonaiserie and Japonisme followed each other chronologically, but this is not the case. I used paintings by van Gogh as examples of fine art, in order to show that all the three notions can exist parallel, even in works executed at the same time by the same artist. Van Gogh painted the series Japonaiserie shortly before leaving Paris, ca. 1886-1888, *Portrait of Pére Tanguy* was one of the last works executed before he moved to Provence in 1887, and the first version of *Bedroom in Arles* was created shortly after he arrived there. Therefore, it can be seen that creating Japonerie, Japonaiserie or Japonisme is not a question of time, but rather a question of attitude.

In the case of theatrical plays, it is true that there is a chronological line regarding their premier dates, but these plays were not put on stage only for the premiere: they were performed night by night, sometimes even for years. *Taifun*, our example for Japonisme, premiered in 1909, the version of *Madama Butterfly* following the scenic scheme of Teatro alla Scala (Japonaiserie) was performed without changes until 1931, and the revival of *The Geisha* (Japonerie) was showed both at Király Színház (King Theatre) in 1912, and at Fővárosi Operettszínház (Central Music Theatre) in 1925.⁵⁴ A new tendency's arrival does not cancel the previous one. A demand on the part of the public for the old shows does not cease to exist. Therefore, the three notions of Japonisme (generic term) existed beside each other.

Notes

- 1 Siegfried Wichmann, *Japonisme. The Japanese Influence on Western Art Since 1858* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2007); Katalin Gellér, "Japanizmus a magyar festészetben és grafikában," (*Japonism in Hungarian Painting and Graphics*), *Ars Hungarica* XVII (1989) Nr. 2: 179–190; Michael Sullivan, *The Meeting of Eastern and Western Art* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989); Gabriel P. Weisbert et al., *Japonisme: Japanese Influence on French Art 1854–1910* (London: Robert G. Sawyers Publications, 1975); Lionel Lambourne, *Japonisme: Cultural Crossings Between Japan and the West* (London – New York: Phaidon, 2005.)
- 2 Theo Hirsbrunner, "Madame Chrysanthème: An operetta by André Messager," in *Madama Butterfly – l'orientalismo di fine secolo, l'approccio pucciniano, la ricezione*, ed. Arthur Groos and Virgilio Bernardoni (Firenze: Leo S. Olshicki Editore, 2008), 75.
- 3 Jann Pasler, "Japonisme and the Problem of Assimilation," in Groos – Bernardoni, 2008. 40; Ricard Bru, "Ukiyo-e and Japonisme in the Young Picasso's Circle," in *Secret Images: Picasso and the Japanese Erotic Print*, ed. Monta Hayakawa et al. (London – New York: Thames & Hudson; Barcelona: Museu Picasso, 2010), 183.
- 4 Michela Niccolai, "Aspetti della ricezione del mito-Butterfly nella canzone e nell'operetta," in Groos – Bernardoni, 2008, 376; Arthur Groos, "Cio-Cio-San and Sadayakko: Japanese Music-Theater in Madama Butterfly," *Monumenta Nipponica* 54 (1999) Nr. 1: 41–73.
- 5 Bru, 2010, 183.
- 6 Michael Sullivan, *The Meeting of Eastern and Western Art* (Berkeley – Los Angeles – London: University of California Press, 1989), 209.
- 7 Amanda Steadman, *Images of Japonisme. The Portrayal of Japan in Select Musical Works*, a Thesis Submitted to the Graduate College of Bowling Green State University, Master of Music, 2009.
- 8 Ibid.
- 9 Steadman, 2009, 25.
- 10 Steadman, 2009, 8.
- 11 All three works were painted in 1887 (Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam).
- 12 „Je ne l'ai pas lu mais enfin – le chef du petit Boulevard est sans aucun doute Seurat et dans la japonaiserie le petit Bernard a été plus loin peut être qu'Anquetin." Translation: „I haven't read it, but after all — the leader of the Petit Boulevard is without any doubt Seurat, and young Bernard has perhaps gone further than Anquetin in the Japanese style." Letter 620 from Vincert to Theo van Gogh, Arles, on or about 5 June 1888.

„Ah c'est donc comme ça qu'il faut regarder une japonaiserie – dans une piece bien claire, toute nue, ouverte sur le paysage." Translation: „Ah, so that's how you have to look at a japonaiserie — in a nice bright room, completely bare, open to the landscape." Letter 639 from Vincert to Theo van Gogh, Arles, on or about 13 July, 1888.

„Or un mois plus tard avant mon depart je n'avais plus l'argent et j'avais encore donné pas mal de japonaiseries à Bernard alors que j'ai fait les echanges avec lui." Translation: „Then a month later, before I left, I no longer had the money and I'd

also given a good many Japanese prints to Bernard, when I made the exchanges with him." Letter 640 from Vincert to Theo van Gogh, Arles, 15 July, 1888.

„C'est que nous ne savons pas assez en japonaiserie." and „Donc la japonaiserie proprement dite, déjà casée dans les collections, déjà introuvable au Japon même, devient secondaire d'intérêt." Translation: „The fact is, we don't know enough about Japanese art." and „So Japanese art, properly speaking, already with its place in collections, already impossible to find in Japan itself, is becoming of secondary interest." Letter 642 from Vincert to Theo van Gogh, Arles, 15 July, 1888.

„J'ai arrangé dans l'atelier toutes japonaiseries et les Daumier et les Delacroix et le Géricault." Translation: „I've arranged all the Japanese prints in the studio, and the Daumiers and the Delacroixs and the Géricault." Letter 686 from Vincent to Theo van Gogh, Arles, 23 or 24 July, 1888.

- 13 Michael Beckerman, „The Sword on the Wall: Japanese Elements and Their Significance in *The Mikado*," *The Musical Quarterly* 73 (1989) Nr. 3: 303–304.
- 14 Lee Jackson, „Victorian London. Exhibitions – The Japanese Village," in *The Dictionary of Victorian London*,
<http://www.victorianlondon.org/entertainment/japanesevillage.htm>, last modified August 11, 2013.
- 15 <http://www.flickr.com/photos/andytakersdad/4428176346/>, last modified August 11, 2013.
- 16 Brian Jones, „Japan in London 1885," *W. S. Gilbert Society Journal* 22 (2007): 688–693.
- 17 William Schwenk Gilbert and Arthur Sullivan, „The Mikado or the Town of Titipu," in *Martyn Green's Treasury of Gilbert and Sullivan*, ed. Martyn Green (London: Michael Joseph Ltd., 1961), 411.
- 18 Green, 1961, 411.
- 19 John Whitney Hall, *The Cambridge History of Japan. Early Modern Japan*, Vol. 4. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 20–21; Felice Beato's *Japan: Places. An Album by the Pioneer Foreign Photographer in Yokohama ca. 1869*, description of Image 31.
http://ocw.mit.edu/ans7870/21f/21f.027/beato_places/fb1_essay05.html#text, last modified August 11, 2013.
- 20 Green, 1961, 410.
- 21 See images B904.3/1, B904.5/1, B904.6/1. B904.7/1 in Országos Színháztörténeti Múzeum és Intézet (OSzMI).
- 22 *Vasárnapi Újság* 33 (19 December 1886.) Nr. 51: 828.
- 23 *Vasárnapi Újság* 44 (24 October 1897.) Nr. 43: 716; Stanley Green, *Encyclopedia of the Musical Theatre* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1980), 146.
- 24 Ya. M. Polyanovskaya, „The English Operetta and Musical Comedy in German Guest Performances in St. Petersburg," in *Musikgeschichte in Mittel- und Osteuropa. Mitteilungen der internationalen Arbeitsgemeinschaft an der Universität Leipzig*, Vol. 8., ed. Helmut Loos and Eberhard Möller (Gudrun Schröder Verlag, 2002), 141.
- 25 „*The Geisha* at Daly's – The New Musical Comedy from London Recieved with Ap-
probation," *The New York Times* 10. September 1896.

- 26 Yoko Kawaguchi, *Serene Gardens: Creating Japanese Design and Detail in the Western Garden* (London: New Holland Publishers, 2008), 10.
- 27 See image A247.1/10 in OSzMI.
- 28 See image A247.1/9 in OSzMI.
- 29 See the article about Gaiety Girls on the website of Victoria & Albert Museum: <http://www.vam.ac.uk/users/node/9009>, last modified August 11, 2013.
- 30 Gergely Thuróczy, „Ha jó az éjszaka, mulatni kell! Kuplékavalkád,” *Napút* (2007) Nr. 1: 3–19.
- 31 Sullivan, 1989, 209. Claude Monet: *Le Japonaise*. Madame Monet in kimono. 1875. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts.
- 32 Sullivan, 1989, 209; Steadman, 2009, 8.
- 33 Vincent van Gogh: *Le Père Tanguy*, 1887. Paris, Musée Rodin.
- 34 On the research for the person on whom the story is based see: Jan van Rij, *Madame Butterfly: Japonisme, Puccini, and the Search for the Real Cho-Cho-San* (Berkeley: Stone Bridge Press, 2001).
- 35 David Belasco, *Six plays* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1928), 11. The first official libretto of Puccini's *Madama Butterfly* in 1904 was published with the following title: *Madama Butterfly* (da John L. Long e David Belasco) Tragedia Giapponese di L. Illica e G. Giacosa, musica di Giacomo Puccini. http://opera.stanford.edu/Puccini/Butterfly/libretto_m.html, last modified August 11, 2013.
- 36 *Vasárnapi Újság* 48 (20 October 1901.) Nr. 42: 683.
- 37 Mercedes Viale Ferrero in her paper *Riflessioni sulle scenografie pucciniane* identifies these photos with the help of those published as illustrations for John Luther Long's *Madame Butterfly* in *La Lettura* IV, February, 1904, Nr. 2: 97–109, and IV/3, March 1904. 193–204. Mercedes Viale Ferrero, “Riflessioni sulle scenografie pucciniane,” *Studi Pucciniani* 1 (1998): 19–39.
- 38 „Belasco's construction was in fact quite exact regarding the structure of the “foldable house”, but considering its furniture and ornaments, it was a real junk.” Viale Ferrero, 1998, 25.
- 39 Helen M. Greenwald, “Picturing Cio-Cio-San: House, Screen, and Ceremony in Puccini's *Madama Butterfly*,” *Cambridge Opera Journal* 12 (2000) Nr. 3: 242–243.
- 40 Mihály Pásztor, “Pálmay Ilka mint Pillangókisasszony,” (Ilka Pálmay as *Madama Butterfly*) *Vasárnapi Újság* 48 (27 October 1901.) Nr. 43: 698.
- 41 K. I., “Puccini új operája,” (Puccini's New Opera) *Vasárnapi Újság* 53 (20 May 1906.) Nr. 20: 322.
- 42 Gabriella Olivero, “I nomi delle «piccole cose». Vocaboli giapponesi nella Mise en scène di Albert Carré per *Madame Butterfly*,” *Studi Pucciniani* 1 (1998): 40–42.
- 43 „Because if Illica meant that the scene looked really like a Japanese print, he was right; but there is nothing real in Japanese prints in a photographic sense, they are translated, encrypted and stylized images.” Viale Ferrero, 1998, 31.
- 44 Sullivan, 1989, 209.
- 45 See image B67.1/2 in OSzMI. Today the notebook is in the National Institute and Museum of the History of Theatre, referred in the text as OSzMI.
- 46 Jann Pasler, “Political Anxieties and Musical Reception: Japonisme and the Problem of Assimilation,” in Groos and Bernardoni, 2008, 20.

- 47 Zsolt Varga, "Magyar színművek a skandináv színpadokon a XX. század első évtizedeiben," (Hungarian Pieces on Scandinavian Stages in the First Decades of the 20th Century) *Ághegy* (2007) Nr. 18–19: 2368.
- 48 Gergely Tóth, *Birodalmak asztalánál. A monarchiabeli Magyarország és Japán kapcsolattörténete 1869–től 1913–ig, korabeli és új források alapján* (At the Table of Empires. The History of Hungary and Japan from 1869 to 1913 in the Mirror of Old and New Sources) (Budapest: Ad Librum, 2010), 167.
- 49 Álmos Jaschik, "A „Roninok kincsének” színpadképei," (Stage Designs for The Ronins' Treasure) *Magyar Iparművészet* (1936), 113–114. Reprinted in: *Jaschik Álmos tervezőiskolája* (The Design School of Álmos Jaschik), Vol. 1., ed. Ottó Mezei, (Budapest, 1980), 137–141.
- 50 Julius Kurth, *Der Japanische Holzschnitt* (München: R. Piper&Co. Verlag, 1922, 3rd, corrected ed.).
- 51 Mária István, "A japán klasszikus csúsingura két magyarországi előadása," (Two Presentations of the Classic Japanese Chūshingura in Hungary) *Criticai Lapok* 19. (2010) Nr. 3: 33–36.
- 52 Jaschik, 1936, 113–114.
- 53 István, 2010.
- 54 See images A247.1/8, 9, 10 (Király Színház, 1912) and B247/4Gy828 (Fővárosi operettszínház, 1925) OSzMI. The archive photos of Madama Butterfly at Operaház were taken in 1931. After the revival of 1934 a new design was used, which is close to the set of the Paris premiere in 1906, and so it is closer to Japonisme than to Japonaiserie.

The influence of Moorish Art in Hungarian Architecture at the End of the 19th century

Ágnes Torma

“Something novel and out of the ordinary is desired in our boulevards. [...] Our colourful national ornamental design and the picturesque alternating pattern of voussoirs on horseshoe arches ought to be employed on public buildings or the houses of the aristocracy.”¹ In 1892 when József Huszka, a Hungarian ethnographer and teacher² wrote these words in an essay about Hungarian national architecture, the few people who would have subscribed to his opinion did not think that within a couple of years their wish would, to a certain extent, be realised in Budapest.

The “transplantation” of exotic realms into the private sphere was not uncommon in the palaces of contemporary noblemen across Europe. These sumptuous interiors, like the Arab room in Cardiff Castle by William Burgess (1880–1881), would not only comprise apartments evoking historic European eras but also a room designed in Oriental fashion whether Moorish, Arabic or Egyptian. With Villa Wilhelma at Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt by Karl Ludwig Zanth, *Uránia* would emulate the Arab room in Cardiff Castle by William Burgess.

The Austrian – Hungarian Compromise of 1867 paved the way towards the consolidation of the country, as well as for an economic boom initially led by the milling industry, ranked first in Europe and second in the world, that was centred in Budapest. The prosperous economy boosted building activity: the remarkably rapid expansion of Pest’s residential area dates from the final decades of the 19th century. As a result, the capital’s population almost tripled: reaching almost one million within forty years. The fact that architects, predominantly of German origin (such as Henrik Schmahl), whose works are discussed in this study, settled in Budapest permanently is a telltale sign of the increased building activity. The principal buildings discussed in this study were designed for one of the major axis: Kerepesi út (the present day Rákóczi út) which terminates at the capital’s Eastern Railway Station built in 1884.³ Residential and public buildings like The National Theatre (1875) were also designed in historic styles along Kerepesi út, with Neo-Renaissance being the prevailing style in the last quarter of the century. The first triumph of this style, the *National Academy of Science* erected in 1860 followed a fierce battle of ideas. That architectural competition is remembered in modern Hungarian history as the first to stir up public opinion (primarily that of theoreticians) over the issue of a genuine *national style*.⁴ Imre Henszlmann, an art critic⁵ favoring the Gothic style above all others advocated⁶ that the formulation of a *national*

style was a step towards the unity of the nation, and each style to be regarded as a part of “high culture” has been derived from a *national style*. Although the Oriental influence had affected a few buildings which departed from Romanticism, as attested by the parish church of Fót and the *Vigadó* and the Synagogue of Dohány Street in Budapest, it was only at the turn of the century that the Oriental style played a key role in the creation of the *national style*.

Ödön Lechner (1845–1914) ushered in a new era in the 1890s; he gave a new perspective to the debate over the Hungarian national style by breaking away from planning in the “classical styles.” Contemporary assertions that Hungarians were more strongly bonded to the East than to the West had turned Lechner’s attention to India. His growing awareness that Hungarian and Indian art had originated from a common source was also fostered by his experiences during his visit to the South Kensington Museum in London.⁷ His conclusion that Indian art had enriched British art prompted him to design the Museum of Applied Arts, Budapest (1892–1896) in Indo-Islamic fashion with multi-lobed arches and rich Indian ornamental decoration, to mention just two of its distinctive features. From its foundation, an Arab Room has existed in the *Museum of Applied Arts*.⁸ One can infer from the modeling and furnishing of the Arab Room in its entirety that the various cultures of the Near and Far East were easily blended, and the borderlines between the cultures of the “East” at times appear to have been completely blurred in the contemporary theorists’ mind.

The fact that Indian art, and Indo-Islamic style also prompted British architects and intellectuals to develop the British national style cannot escape our attention.⁹ Humphrey Repton, who designed following the Indo-Islamic style, even went so far as to propose¹⁰ the adoption of “the Indian style” as the *national style* for the British.

The motives generating a shift towards the culture of India were markedly different in Hungary and Britain. Whereas in Britain the reliance upon the Indo-Islamic style met with political interests concerning British domination in India, such pragmatic considerations did not play a role in Hungary. There, the long-lasting inspiration from the Orient was fostered by the belief that Hungarians and the people in the East have a common heritage. An entire generation of architects in the first decades of the 20th century followed in Lechner’s steps, and studied Hungarian folk art to formulate the genuine Hungarian style.¹¹

While architects, like Lechner, believed that Indian and Persian art was ingrained in traditional Hungarian art, Moorish art was not considered to be inherent to Hungarian art (and in fact the two had no ties either). While the quest for a national style had close ties with the Oriental (and more precisely Indo-Islamic) style, the *Uránia Film Theatre* (1896),¹² in spite of its Oriental style, did not follow this tendency. There is no evidence to suggest that Henrik Schmahl (1846–1912) had developed an interest in contemporary debates revolving around the adoption of Oriental style as the national style). Born in Hamburg and immigrating to Hungary in his early twenties, he remained an outsider to Hungarian society and the circle of architects. Despite his lack of academic studies, Schmahl, like his contemporaries, started his career as an architect in the Neo-Renaissance style. Ödön Lechner followed a similar track, and Schmahl’s and Lechner’s true style evolved almost the same time in the middle of the 1890s. Schmahl’s principal building, the *Uránia Film Theatre* in 1896, was the first and

most important manifestation of this architect's distinctive style influenced by Moorish art. Not only does it rank as an exception within his oeuvre, but it is also an exception in contemporary theatre architecture. The fact that the Opera House was erected in Neo-Renaissance style cannot be disregarded, if only because Henrik Schmahl was commissioned to supervise the building operation by its designer, Miklós Ybl in 1876–1884. During this period Schmahl had mastered the Neo-Renaissance style. His first artistic period in the 1880s is characterized by this style to be followed by the Neo-Gothic for a brief period.

Schmahl's stylistic change in the middle of the 1890s is even more striking if we take into consideration that not only were theatre buildings dedicated to high cultural entertainment invariably designed in the Neo-Renaissance or in the Neo-Baroque style, but the orpheums of Budapest catering for light entertainment were also built in historic styles, most preferably Neo-Baroque. Ferdinand Fellner and Hermann Helmer dominated not only traditional theatre design but also that of variety theatres, since the *Somossy Orpheum* in Budapest was designed in Neo-Baroque style by the two architects in 1894.¹³ Together they produced 48 theatres in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and many others beyond its borders.

Despite the scarce resources about the career of Henrik Schmahl, contemporary architects attribute his choice for the Moorish style to his travels to Andalusia. Sámuel Révész¹⁴, an architect working at Schmahl's studio, claims that in Andalusia Schmahl drew inspiration from Moorish art. Schmahl must have been driven by motives similar to those of Frederic Leighton who produced the Arab Hall in his own house and studio in London.¹⁵

It was not by accident that Schmahl tried his hand at the Moorish design which requires careful attention to details and good drawing skills. Even before *Uránia* his works already exhibited his precision. Once captivated by the Moorish style, he made a radical departure from the Neo-Renaissance and the Neo-Gothic, only to return to the latter in his last artistic period.

In comparison with other European theatres and cinemas in Moorish style, Gothic plays a considerable role in this *variety theatre*. Schmahl's Venetian-Gothic buildings designed before *Uránia* justify his choice for the Gothic style. The first two levels in the interior of *Uránia*, reserved for purposes of representation, were decorated in Moorish style, which was not extended to the residential units in the four-storeyed building. The façade displays no alternating colours on vous-



Fig. 1. The façade of *Uránia* Film Theatre, Budapest designed by Henrik Schmahl. 1896. Photo: Ágnes Torma

soirs, but minor details were emphasized since the intrados of the arches are decorated with arabesques. (Fig. 1)

The mezzanine shows that Schmahl transgressed the boundaries of the classical canon of architecture. The delicate rhythm of the large arches hiding the three inner arcades framing the entrances to the balcony lends a picturesque effect to the mezzanine, raising it to the level of the *piano nobile*. The arches are close to the segmental arch, but the rigidity of this regular formation is resolved by the wavelike shallow lobes of the upper part displaying the experimental character of the architect. It is no exaggeration to draw the parallel between Schmahl and Lechner in exploring new forms of expression in architecture. The interior arcades defying these regular forms, primarily in Lechner's *Földtani Intézet* (the Institute of Geology, 1896–1899), represent this tendency. The *piano nobile* in the *Uránia* is in harmony with its upper levels in Venetian style. In this intricate system, the inner windows are framed by and hidden behind the arcades dominating the facade. Multiple blind arches bracketing each other became a characteristic feature in Schmahl's art as exemplified by his *Deutsch House* (1896)¹⁶ and the *Párisi-udvar* (1909–1912). (Fig. 2) The apertures of the window arches can be traced back to the multi-lobed arches of the Umayyad period of Moorish architecture found in the Capilla de la Villaviciosa of the Great Mosque in Cordova.¹⁷

The picturesque effect is enhanced by the Venetian stylistic features: the windows and the façade topped by crenellation (a characteristic element of Islamic architecture borrowed by the Venetian style). Schmahl did not go so far as to have the *Uránia* surmounted by an Islamic dome or to include a bold horseshoe arch to his plan as Thomas Hayter Lewis did in the *Royal Panopticon of Science and Art*, London, or as Huszka dreamt about it.

Schmahl encountered difficulties with respect to the feasibility of Islamic style in Hungary similar to the concern expressed by K.L.Zanth¹⁸ in the 1830s and by James Fergusson in *The History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* in 1876.¹⁹ The Western spatial articulation differs from that of the Islamic due to climatic reasons, which might pose a barrier to the use of arcade systems to blur the firm barrier between interiors and exteriors found in the East and in the Maghreb. In the architect's vocabulary, the arches were adapted to the interior of *Uránia* so that they were given the role of coordinating the spaces.

As for further traits of Gothic architecture, the interior of *Uránia* shows the architect's predilection for engaged compound columns. The frequent use of



Fig. 2. The façade of Párisi-udvar designed by Henrik Schmahl. 1909–1912.

Photo: Ágnes Torma

arcades by the Nasrid rulers of Andalusia in the 14th century was adapted to the requirements of enclosed interiors: one finds columns in the theatre hall used solely for decorative purpose which have no structural role. (Fig. 3) The bonds of columns and the decorative delicate ribs of the vault in the banquet hall lend an elevated atmosphere to the theatre hall, juxtaposing and “taming” the overflowing Moorish ornamentation. Such Gothic architectural elements connect *Uránia* to the architect’s earlier Neo-Gothic period and anticipate the culmination of his career with his multifunctional, predominantly Neo-Gothic building, the *Párisi-udvar*, Budapest.

Schmahl might have been welcomed in England a century earlier, since his Neo-Gothic design was immediately followed by the Moorish style and the intermingling of the two styles. Fascinated by Arabic art, Owen Jones (1809–1874) traced the pointed arch from the Ibn Tulun mosque, Cairo.²⁰ Sir Cristopher Wren²¹ and William Hodges developed a theory about the common origins of the Mughal and Gothic style.²²

To enumerate yet another connection between the Moorish and the Gothic styles, the history of the Moorish residence of Villa Wilhelma can be examined.²³ Here the association between the two styles is not based on scientific and analytic observations but lies in the realm of individual stylistic taste. Wilhelm I, King of Württemberg, seems to have merged his longing for the distant glorious past and the inaccessible *exotic*; leaving him the single choice between the Gothic and the Moorish styles. Dissatisfied with the plan by Giovanni Salucci based on Greek prototypes, King Wilhelm I fancied a Gothic, or more preferably, a Moorish resort centred around a bathhouse on the bank of the River Neckar. (Fig. 4)

The arches in the foyer of the *Uránia* featuring broader multifoils are further articulated with smaller lobes. Other architectural details betray his faithfulness to the prototype: the capitals on slender columns and the decorative elements (mainly in the



Fig. 3. The theatre hall of Uránia Film Theatre. 1896, renovated in 2003. Photo: Zoltán Torma



Fig. 4. Villa Wilhelma, Stuttgart, designed by K.L.Zanth. 1842–64. Photo: Stuttgart: Schwäbische Metropole mit Charme. Brachenkatalog

theatre hall). These exact replicas of the capitals of the Lion Court in the Alhambra²⁴ attest to Schmahl's close observation of the architecture of the Nasrids palace as rediscovered by his contemporaries. In this respect, one can draw a parallel between *Uránia* and the *Synagogue of Rumbach Street*, Budapest (designed by Otto Wagner), the entrance of which also features the faithful rendition of columns from the Lion Court.

Solutions, like the entrance arch between the interconnecting stairway and the café on the first floor of *Uránia*, point towards the architect's artistic inventiveness. This entrance arch owes much to the Mexuar, the "conference room" of Arab rulers in the Alhambra, whereas the formation of this arch of concave and convex lines shows the experimental character of Schmahl's art. The intrados of the arches adjacent to the capitals mentioned above are not modelled on the stalactite arches of the Lion Court; they are overflowed with arabesque decoration attesting to his great attention to detail instead of decoration in plasticity. Where the space was insufficient for arches, Schmahl used blind arches serving merely a decorative function. This scheme was also inspired by Moorish art featuring a series of blind arches bracketing one another. The architect even employed this plasticity in the façade of a house commissioned by the Deutsch family at the same time (1896).

To borrow Stefan Koppelkamm's taxonomy, this unprecedented combination of the characteristic features mentioned above can be classified as "architectural fantasy."²⁵ Koppelkamm's term comprises "only" the blending together of different Islamic features, like the Turkish or Persian onion dome, the decoration of façades by alternating colours, and elements of the Alhambra²⁶ to produce an "Oriental fantasy," exemplified, for instance, by the residence and glass houses of Villa Wilhelma. The "fantasy" in Schmahl's art, however, goes beyond the "Oriental" styles which as far as the Islamic styles are concerned, is composed only of the Moorish style. The combination of architectural elements and stylistic features is not confined to the Islamic style but embraces Schmahl's free application of Moorish ornamentation on characteristic architectural elements: the arches in the interior and the mezzanine on the façade as well as Gothic architectural elements. A kind of architectural fantasy is created primarily by the integration of the architect's inventions with some Moorish features into the Venetian-Gothic composition of the façade which is then reversed in the interior where the Moorish style sets the tune.

According to Koppelkamm, illusion was associated with the spirit of Moorish art.²⁷ Optical illusion and tricks play a considerable role in the *Uránia* in which their traces can also be discerned. His ingenious idea of placing mirrors within the blind arches amplified this effect, by creating an illusion of unending interiors, a technique that had been employed by Karl Ludwig Zanth in the *Kuppelsaal* of the full-fledged Moorish building complex, *Villa Wilhelma* (1842–1864; Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt).²⁸ In the theatre hall of *Uránia*, this illusion was exploited to the utmost: the three full-length mirrors on the back wall behind the balcony create the sense of vast space. In placing them, Schmahl was able to create an effect similar to that of a series of arches which is a typical feature of Islamic buildings.

The magic of the Moorish atmosphere is also evoked by the intense colouring in the interior. As one advances through the theatre hall on the ground floor, an image emerges as if the foyer was modelled on Owen Jones' colour theory: red, blue and gold are applied on a white surface and separated from each other.²⁹ The stucco surfacing in



Fig. 5. The lantern of the theatre hall adorned with *muqarnas* decoration. 1896, renovated in 2003. Photo: Zoltán Torma

the entrance hall may remind us of this widespread medium of decoration, elaborately carved particularly, during the Nasrid Age. This effect is accentuated as one enters the theatre hall: the colours, markedly differing from the restrained colouring of the foyer, produce a dazzling effect. The shimmering is not attained by the ceramics and azulejos as in the *Arab room* by Lord Leighton or *Villa Wilhelma*, but by paints applied on a metallic, primarily bronze basis.³⁰ The spandrels also display rich and metallic decoration.

The groundplan of the theatre hall in a central location also offered the possibility of designing a lantern. Planned by Béla Jánoszy (1884–1945) and Tibor Szivessy (1884–1963), the lantern is, however, an element of a later modification, which took place between 1929–1930.³¹ This lantern is particularly interesting owing to its *muqarnas* decoration. (Fig. 5) This kind of honeycomb decoration has no parallel either in contemporary Hungarian architecture or art, with the exception of an early Romantic building of Miklós Ybl, the parish church of Fót (1845–1955). (Fig. 6)

Schmahl's buildings are telltale monuments of his ingenuity that does not need to be corroborated by having earned an architecture degree: he never



Fig. 6. The honeycomb structure in the parish church of Fót, designed by Miklós Ybl. 1845–1955. Photo: Ágnes Torma

even entered university. The house at 72 Rákóczi út serves as evidence that the Moorish style was not confined to the realm of entertainment (variety *theatre*) in Schmahl's oeuvre, but constituted a period of its own.³² This house, which accommodated the temporary exhibition of the Museum of Agriculture at the turn of the century has unfortunately not survived.

In comparison to the *Uránia* that building embodies an advanced stage in the architect's oeuvre. The composition of the façade: the deep alcoves with conspicuous *muqarnas* decoration reduced to miniature scale, which can be traced to the mihrab alcoves of Islamic buildings, are hallmarks of the Moorish style. The inner architectural elements of the *Uránia* entailing a larger structure have literally come to the foreground, that is, to the façade of the interior of the building as seen at the *Uránia*. The arcades of the Lion Court seemed to have been created for the shop-fronts of the House at 72 Rákóczi út.

The number of theatres and cinemas influenced by the Moorish style rose even more rapidly in the 20th century, yet a relatively early example of the phenomenon, *The Alhambra Theatre* in London, can be used as comparison to the *Uránia*. *The Royal Panopticon of Science and Art* at Leicester Square, London built in Saracenic style³³ (later converted into *The Alhambra Theatre*) can not only be compared to *Uránia* on stylistic grounds but also on functional ones although the change in use of the two buildings has an inverse pattern of development. Founded in 1852, the *Royal Panopticon* was devoted to demonstrating scientific experiments and equipment with the aim of disseminating scientific knowledge to the public. Within a short period, the enterprise went bankrupt and the Oriental building was turned into a music hall in 1858, giving the stage to circus and ballet performances of a more popular value.³⁴ (Fig. 7)

This second type of entertainment assumed the main role in the *Uránia*: entertaining the public with comedies within three years after its erection. The *Oroszi Caprice*³⁵ as an orpheum offering "light entertainment" must have catered for the needs of the same lower middle class of society as the Alhambra Theatre in London in the 1860s did.³⁶ The venture proved to be a failure, and in 1898, Schmahl's building in Budapest was taken over by The *Uránia* Scientific Society organised shortly after its inception.



Fig. 7. The Royal Panopticon at Leicester Square, London designed by Thomas Hayter Lewis. 1852. *The Builder* XII. (1854.03.18.) 580. sz. 143.

As its name implies, the *Uránia* modelled itself after the German *Uránia Scientific Society* in Berlin and that in Vienna, adopting their programme. The founders of the *Society* set out to offer a wide range of programmes, centred around the introduction of contemporary advanced technology. The banquet hall of *Uránia* was able to promote the introduction of scientific and geographic discoveries to the public since diorama presentations on its stage rendered the unknown distant places to be shown more life-like.³⁷ In this way, citizens visiting the *Uránia* could follow the steps of pioneer travellers who gave lectures on

disenchanted territories, like the North Pole (*A battle for the North Pole* by Jenő Cholnoky, a Hungarian geographer³⁸) or the ice cave of Dobsina.³⁹ This novel technique of diorama projection was also employed in *The Alhambra Theatre*, London. Such virtual travels went hand in hand with familiarising the public with the modern technical innovations: the telegraph attracted the attention of the managers of the *Uránia* and the *Royal Panopticon* alike. While John Watkins Brett's telegraph could be seen by the visitors at the *Panopticon*,⁴⁰ the audience of the *Uránia* faced the puzzling question whether Guglielmo Marconi would be able to establish wireless communication across the ocean.⁴¹ The founders of the *Panopticon* aimed at the dissemination of scientific knowledge to the public in a more spectacular way than the *Uránia Society*: they also showed Michael Faraday's experiments.

The didactical purposes of the *Society* were not only to popularise science but also to edify citizens through art. In their view, the theatre must have exerted an ameliorating effect on the audience, which could not have been achieved in an ordinary building.⁴² While popular ballet performances were in the core repertory of *The Alhambra*, the audience was enchanted by the elevated ballet performance of Isadora Duncan in the *Uránia Theatre*.⁴³ Even more important is the scheme using moving pictures which the *Uránia* regularly used to introduce the characteristic dances of the people of the world. The non-newsreel Hungarian film, entitled *A tánc* (*The Dance* by Gyula Pekár) is considered to be the first film production of Hungarian cinematography.⁴⁴ This film was shot on the terrace of the *Uránia* and was shown in the theatre. Supporting and employing Béla Zitkovszky, a photographer, the *Uránia Society* embarked on promoting photography and presenting films on its stage. The Society was



Fig. 8. The back (up) and front view of The Alhambra Theatre, London on the first page from a Programme for Paquita at The Alhambra. 1908. Royal Panopticon of Science and Art – Later Alhambra Theatre – Later Odeon Leicester Square: The Music Hall and Theatre History Site – Dedicated to Arthur Lloyd

up-to-date with the latest achievements, and the programme of the *Uránia Society in Berlin*.

In comparison with other theatres conceived under the spell of Islamic styles, the Islamic style of the *Uránia* can be considered to be homogeneous,⁴⁵ solely stimulated by the Moorish style. This masterpiece at the turn of the century, however, also bears the characteristic features of historic styles: namely the Venetian Gothic. The fact that new demands were present invariably in Britain and in Hungary is demonstrated by the similarities shared between the renewed façade of *The Alhambra Theatre* with that of the *Uránia*. (Fig. 8)

The ground floor of *The Alhambra Theatre* is articulated by full-length shop windows on the rear façade⁴⁶ facing Charing Cross Road, which was designed by W.M.Brutton in 1897.⁴⁷ In addition to the similar Islamic stylistic characteristics *The Alhambra Theatre* is also linked to the *Uránia* on structural basis when one takes into account the shop windows.⁴⁸ Despite the enumerated similarities, we have no reason to assume that Henrik Schmahl was familiar with *The Alhambra Theatre* in London.

Notes

- 1 József Huszka, *Nemzeti építészeti múltja és jelene (The past and present of our national architecture, 1892)* cited by Ákos Moravánszky, *Versengő látomások: esztétikai újítás és társadalmi program az Osztrák–Magyar Monarchia építészetében, 1867–1918. (Competing Visions: Aesthetic Invention and Social Imagination in Central European Architecture, 1867–1918)* (Budapest: Vince, 1998), 187. The quotation was translated by the author.
- 2 His collecting activity and taxonomy of decoration patterns is comparable with that of Owen Jones, who published a systematic work entitled *The Grammar of the Ornament* in 1854. The of Huszka's system, however, encompasses a less wide scale of motifs. Emese Révész, *A magyar historizmus (Historicism in Hungary)* (Budapest: Corvina, 2005), 34.
- 3 Attila Déry, *Erzsébetváros – Terézváros és Józsefváros* (Budapest: Terc, 2006).
- 4 József Sisa, "A historizmus építészete," in *Magyarország építészetének története ("The architecture of historicism," in The Architecture of Historic Hungary)*, ed. József Sisa and Dora Wiebenson (Budapest: Vince, 1998), 199–234.
- 5 Imre Henszlmann earned a degree in architecture, although he never practised in this field.
- 6 Henszlmann expressed his views in *Párhuzamok (Parallels)* (Budapest, 1841) cited by: Révész, 2005, 22–23.
- 7 Ödön Lechner, "Önéletrajzi Vázlat" (Curriculum Vitae: an Outline), *A Ház (The House)* 4. (1911), 343–56.
- 8 Ödön Boncz, "Az Iparművészeti Múzeum arab szobája" (The Arab Room in the Museum of Applied Arts), *Művészi Ipar* 1 (1885–1886).
- 9 This view in Britain dates from the age of the Gothic Revival.
- 10 John M. MacKenzie, *Orientalism: History, Theory and the Arts* (Manchester – New York: Manchester University Press, 1995), 74.
- 11 Examining the patterns of folk art, József Huszka, an architect, assumed that Hungarian ornamental motifs have similar features as Sassanidan decorative design.

- This assumption exerted great influence on Ödön Lechner. Closely related to the history of buildings that were to herald the national style, the design of Zsolnay ceramics was also inspired by Oriental motifs. Vilmos Zsolnay travelled extensively in Asia Minor to trace the origins of the genuine Hungarian style. Later Ödön Lechner and Henrik Schmahl cooperated with the Zsolnay Manufacture of Ceramics. Moravánszky, 1998, 186–7.
- 12 For convenience this building featuring Moorish characteristics is referred to as *Uránia* in this paper. At the time of its erection in 1896, the building was known as *Oroszi Caprice* after its owner, Antal Oroszi.
 - 13 Aladár Edvi Illés, *Budapest műszaki útmutatója (A Guide to the Architecture of Budapest from a Technological Perspective)* (Budapest, 1896).
 - 14 Sámuel Révész, “Schmahl Henrik,” *Építő Ipar* (The Periodical of the Industry of Building) (1912) Nr. 33: 319–20. and also in Gáspár Fábrián, *Nagy magyar építőművészek (Great Hungarian Architects)* Vol. 1. (Budapest, 1936).
 - 15 Patricia Baker, “London’s Arab Hall,” in *Saudi Aramco World: London’s Arab Hall*. 1978.
 - 16 The elevation of the facade is preserved in the *Budapest City Archives*. The number of the record: BFL III. XV.17.d.329/24544.
 - 17 Marianne Barrucand and Achim Bednorz, *Moorish Architecture in Andalusia* (Köln: Taschen, 1992), 70–77.
 - 18 Stefan Koppelkamm, *Der imaginärische Orient: Exotische Bauten in achtzehnten und neunzehnten Jahrhundert in Europa* (Berlin: Ernst, 1987), 66.
 - 19 Michael Danby, *Moorish Style* (London: Phaidon, 1994), 170–172.
 - 20 Note to Plate XXXI in Owen Jones, *The Grammar of the Ornament* (London, 1854), 158.
 - 21 Koppelkamm, 1987, 62
 - 22 Danby, 1994, 83
 - 23 Koppelkamm, 1987, 57–76.
 - 24 Barrucand and Bednorz, 1992, 194–197.
 - 25 Koppelkamm, 1987, 66, 70.
 - 26 I completed the list of Islamic elements enumerated by Koppelkamm with the striped building façade exhibited by the building accommodating the *Festsaal* in *Villa Wilhelma* shown in an archive photograph on page 67. Koppelkamm, 1987, 67.
 - 27 Koppelkamm, 1987, 63–64.
 - 28 Koppelkamm, 1987, 69–70.
 - 29 Jones, 1854.
 - 30 This statement is based on the study conducted by Architekton Rt. which was responsible for the reconstruction of the interior decoration of the building in 2001–2003. Architekton Rt. produced a detailed analysis of the original materials used at the *Uránia*. *Az Uránia Belsőépítészeti Rekonstrukciója (The Reconstruction of the Interior Design of Uránia)* (Gödöllő: Architekton Építő és Műemlékfelújító Rt., 2001.)
 - 31 Ferenc Bor, *Tudományos dokumentáció az Uránia Mozi épületéről (Documentary on the Architectural History of Uránia Film Theatre carried out for the Reconstruction of the Building)* (Budapest: Hild – Ybl Alapítvány, 2000), 1–16.

- 32 The elevation of the main facade of the building is preserved in the *Museum of Architecture*, Budapest. The number of the building permit given by the Municipality of Budapest: 43240/1898–III.
- 33 The prominent horseshoe arch associated with the *Uránia* in London derives primarily from the Golden Age of the Caliphate in the 10th century. Barrucand and Bednorz, 1992, 48.
- 34 With regard to the history of the Alhambra Theatre: it underwent several renovations before its dismantling in 1936. That from 1883 and the expansion in 1897 being the most prominent. Koppelkamm 1987, 160.
- 35 *Uránia* was known as *Oroszi Caprice* between 1896 and 1899.
- 36 Simon Trussler, *The Cambridge Illustrated History of British Theatre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).
- 37 With slight alterations in the interior.
- 38 Jenő Cholnoky (1870–1950) studied and made an hydrographical analysis of the Huang He and the Yangtze in Chinese territory.
- 39 *Uránia: Népszerű Tudományos Folyóirat* (The *Uránia* Popular Periodical on Science) *Az Uránia Magyar Tudományos Egyesület Közlönye* (Budapest: *Uránia Scientific Society*) 1. (1900) Nr. 3: 23.
- 40 K.G. Beauchamp, *Exhibiting Electricity* (London: The Institution of Electrical Engineers, 1997), 22.
- 41 *Uránia: Népszerű Tudományos Folyóirat*: 1. (1900) Nr. 2: 22.
- 42 Victor Molnár, “Törekvésünk,” (Our Aims) in *Uránia Magyar Tudományos Színházegylet és Részvénytársaság prospectusa és aláírási felhívása* (Budapest, 1900), 1–2.
- 43 “Isadora Duncan Budapesten” (Isadora Duncan in Budapest), *Vasárnapi Ujság* 49. (1902) Nr. 17: 274–276.
- 44 Domonkos Dániel Kis, “Az *Uránia* száz éve,” (One Hundred Years of *Uránia*), *Valóság* 46 (2003) Nr. 1: 66–77.
- 45 Koppelkamm 1987, 53, 70.
- 46 The formation of the facade at Leicester Square geared to the commercial demands was realised during the remodelling of the Alhambra Theatre in 1883 after its destruction in fire. The proportions of the facade by W.M. Brutton, however, renders the comparison of the two structures more justified.
- 47 Koppelkamm 1987, 160.
- 48 As for this structural innovation by Schmahl, he is ranked among the first architects in Hungary who responded to the call of the new era, as the introduction of shop windows of large scale in his own house of 1890 testifies. This feature attests to his practical way of thinking that had been thoroughly recognized by his contemporaries. Vilmos Magyar in *Építő Ipar* 01.09.1912. and Sámuel Révész in *Építő Ipar* 18.08.1912; Ferenc Vadas, *Neoreneszánsz építészet Budapesten (Neo-Renaissance Architecture in Budapest)*, ed. Tamás Csáki, Violetta Hidvégi and Pál Ritoók (Budapest: Budapest Főváros Levéltára, 2008).

Apollinaire, chroniqueur des salons de Paris, sur les peintres fauves (et !) hongrois

Petra Kárai

Introduction

Le groupe de chercheurs, conduit par Krisztina Passuth, a étonné le public d'experts par leurs recherches, étendues sur plusieurs années, et qui ont préparé l'exposition *Vadak–Fauves. Magyar Vadak Párizstól Nagybányáig 1904–1914*.¹ En effet, de très nombreuses peintures étaient conservées dans des lieux inconnus et des informations, jusque-là inédites, ont permis de lancer de nouvelles études.



III. 1. Ilma Gräff-Dreyfus : La Scierie d'Oberstdorf, 1902. Signé à gauche en bas : GI [monogramme] 1902. Signé à droite en bas : Gráf Ilma. Lithographie, 310×424 mm. Galerie Nationale Hongroise, Budapest, no. inv. : 1903-216

C'est avec enthousiasme que nous avons pu participer aux recherches scientifiques concernant la découverte des artistes hongrois vivants à Paris au tournant du 19^{ème} siècle. Après nous être mis en quête des catalogues des salons de la Société des artistes indépendants – le premier but que nous poursuivions dans les bibliothèques des musées de Paris –, recenser les artistes hongrois de ces salons a été aisé.² Au cours de ce projet, d'importants noms d'artistes ignorés ont émergé dans l'horizon de l'histoire de l'art de la Hongrie de cette époque ; parmi eux, il y en a beaucoup dont les spécialistes ne se sont jamais occupés, par exemple Ilma Gräf-Dreyfus sur la vie de laquelle nous consacrons quelques pages dans cette étude. Etant donné que rechercher l'œuvre de tous les artistes cités dans ces catalogues semble une trop grande tâche, nous allons essayer d'aborder ce sujet d'un autre point de vue : comme nous avons pu nous rendre compte, à l'occasion de la préparation de l'exposition « Les fauves hongrois », de l'importance des messages des critiques d'art contemporaines sur les artistes hongrois, nous avons eu l'intention de nous intéresser aux critiques d'Apollinaire. Notre étude se focalise donc sur les artistes hongrois participant à la vie artistique de Paris et répondant à deux « critères » : des artistes qui ont exposé leurs tableaux aux salons des Indépendants, et qui sont, en même temps, mentionnés dans les critiques d'art d'Apollinaire. Bien sûr, certains artistes hongrois que nous avons trouvé mentionnés chez Apollinaire, ne participaient pas aux salons des Indépendants ; cependant nous avons décidé de les citer dans notre étude puisqu'Apollinaire – critique d'art – leur a fait une place dans ses écrits.

Apollinaire comme critique d'art³

Apollinaire est devenu critique d'art non pas parce qu'il fréquentait les ateliers ou parce qu'il bavardait avec les peintres, non plus parce qu'il se serait efforcé d'écrire sur les actualités de la vie artistique au début de sa carrière de journaliste, mais parce que sa sensibilité l'a attiré vers le monde de la peinture, l'a conduit dans l'empire des œuvres d'art et l'a poussé à écrire sur l'art dans ses articles. Cet intérêt se manifeste déjà dans les premières années, quand il a passé un an en Allemagne entre 1901 et 1902 : il a alors visité tous les musées et toutes les expositions, et il a écrit non seulement des poèmes, des contes et des articles sur l'Allemagne, mais aussi ses premières chroniques d'art.

Après son retour en France, il s'est intéressé à d'autres sujets ; dans *Le Festin d'Ésope* et dans *L'Européen*, il n'a pas publié d'articles sur l'art, sauf un seul sur une exposition à Düsseldorf ; cette période a quand même été déterminante pour lui, car il a fait connaissance de Maurice de Vlaminck et d'André Derain, et il a rencontré Picasso en 1904. Ce dernier événement l'a incité à écrire l'article *Les Jeunes : Picasso, peintre* dans *La Plume*, le 15 mai en 1905.

En feuilletant les chroniques d'art d'Apollinaire sur le Salon des Indépendants en 1906, nous pouvons reconnaître une personnalité curieuse des événements de la vie artistique. Il dit d'ailleurs fréquenter les ateliers et être un familier des maisons d'éditions de plusieurs journaux, ce dont témoignent les compte-rendus qu'il a publiés. Il rapporte même qu'il n'est pas tout simplement dilettante, mais un collectionneur possédant « trois marines sur carton » de Karl Edvard Diriks, une lithographie d'Émile

Bonnard ; selon lui, Gertrude Stein ne s'occupe que de Matisse et de Picasso soulignant leur art par rapport aux autres peintres de cette période-là ; Manguin « possède beaucoup de Cézanne », ce qui n'est pas étonnant car ils étaient amis.⁴

En 1907, un ton tout à fait nouveau se déclare chez l'apprenti critique : dans *Je dis tout* et *Tabarin*, il utilise un style ironique et spontané avec lequel il attaque et critique vertement quelques uns des participants et organisateurs du Salon d'Automne. Cependant, en 1908, il atteint la maturité de « son art » : dans l'article sur Picasso, son style n'est plus spontané ni débordant, mais il est modéré et Apollinaire fait des commentaires pertinents dans ses rapports, dans un essai esthétique, et ensuite dans son article *Les Peintres cubistes* ;⁵ ce changement de ton se manifeste aussi dans la préface du catalogue de l'exposition de Braque en 1908 chez Kahnweiler. Maintenant ce sont la transmission des informations au grand public, les réflexions d'après les impressions sur les images, et la promotion du soutien des artistes qui sont les leviers des critiques d'Apollinaire.

Dès 1910 et pendant quatre ans, il est chargé de la rubrique *La Vie artistique* dans le journal *L'Intransigeant*. Après des plus grands salons de Paris, il suit la vie artistique des galeries de Blot, Druet, Devambez, Bernheim-Jeune et Vollard dans ses écrits, mais il n'affirme plus nettement ses positions artistiques, il devient simple « relais » des informations et n'exprime plus son opinion qu'implicitement.

En 1914 il quitte *L'Intransigeant* pour défendre l'art d'Archipenko, de Delaunay et des futuristes. Au début de la Seconde Guerre mondiale, en mai, il est chargé de la rubrique *Arts* de *Paris-Journal*.

Après sa guérison (il est revenu blessé du front), il revient durant l'été de 1916 dans le monde artistique mais la situation des journaux est grave, et il ne peut publier d'articles qu'en 1918. A ce moment-là, il tient le poste de responsable de la rubrique *Échos et on-dit des lettres et des arts* dans *L'Europe nouvelle* et il fait quelques écrits pour *Les Arts à Paris* fondé par Paul Guillaume. Comme fondateur de *l'esprit nouveau*, il est souvent appelé à écrire les préfaces des catalogues d'exposition, ou bien à faire des exposés sur l'art (en général). Paul Guillaume l'a par exemple invité à sa galerie le 13 novembre 1917.

Contrairement à ce que nous pourrions penser, Apollinaire ne suit pas les tendances de son temps : son opinion s'exprime, par exemple dans le cas du Douanier Rousseau et de Robert Delaunay. Mais, malgré son attitude moderne, il ne peut pas rompre avec les usages du journalisme, et, comme il le révèle dans une de ses lettres, datée du 5 mai 1914 : « C'est encore vouloir faire l'innocent ou ignorer ce qu'est un journal quotidien, ou ce qu'est le jeu des relations, des amitiés, pour reprocher à un critique de mentionner beaucoup de noms dans un compte rendu de Salon où exposent des milliers d'artistes. »⁶ Au fond, durant cette période, les énumérations longues, globales et les descriptions négligées caractérisent les commentaires de toutes les expositions. Mais Apollinaire, lui, laisse les traces de sa propre opinion dans ses critiques : la conception des valeurs fondamentales du vrai art, mettant l'invention et l'authenticité au centre ; l'accent sur la liberté de l'artiste, qui l'aide à réaliser les fruits de son imagination. Grâce à son approche tout en finesse, il présente les artistes les plus importants et fait l'éloge de leurs œuvres : Matisse, Picasso, Braque, Derain, Delaunay, Chagall, Léger, Picabia, Duchamp... Il dessine ainsi un « musée imaginaire » qui n'a pas de rival en matière de critique contemporaine, et qui témoigne qu'Apollinaire a le goût et le sens de la qualité artistique des œuvres d'art. C'est ce que les spécialistes de l'histoire de l'art omettent.

Le Fauvisme et Apollinaire

En 1907, à l'occasion du Salon d'Automne, Apollinaire écrit un chapitre consacré uniquement à Matisse dont la première phrase est « Le fauve des fauves » tel qu'il le définit.⁷ Dans la même année, il mentionne l'artiste à plusieurs reprises : dans *La Phalange*, le 15 décembre, il présente son art, mais il n'en parle pas de façon très pertinente ; mais, en 1907,⁸ il affine son analyse du style fauve. « Ce fauve est un raffiné. Il aime s'entourer d'œuvres d'art anciennes et modernes... »⁹

Comme nous l'avons déjà signalé, la première critique d'Apollinaire sur le Salon des artistes indépendants est publiée en 1908.¹⁰ Dans cet article, Apollinaire valorise l'art des peintres fauves. Il entame son écrit avec un ton totalement ironique : il relate qu'on n'écrit pas beaucoup sur la 24^e Exposition de la Société des Artistes Indépendants, et dans sa deuxième phrase, il tance ceux qui obéissent « à un mot d'ordre venu d'on ne sait quelles officines. »¹¹ Puis il continue : « Que la paix soit avec leurs tenants ! / Cependant, le silence n'a pas été si bien gardé qu'on n'ait proclamé, [...] les œuvres dont le succès ne pouvait se tenir caché. »¹²

Dans cet écrit nous trouvons le nom d'André Derain qu'Apollinaire exalte pour ses qualités de peintre. Il évoque ici la notion d'« abstraction » que nous rencontrons pour la troisième fois dans l'histoire de l'art.¹³ Au regard des œuvres citées ci-dessous, Apollinaire utilise le mot « sublime ». Il souligne la « pureté » et la simplicité de ses peintures. Il cite trois œuvres : *La Toilette*, *Le Portrait* et *Le Paysage de cypres* qui prouvent l'attitude du peintre qui « purifie la réalité et "doue d'authenticité la nature" ». ¹⁴

De Marquet, Apollinaire reconnaît la « modestie » que le visiteur peut apercevoir dans ses œuvres. Il met en valeur la « curiosité » de Vlaminck et l'« opulence de ses dons » ; à l'aide desquelles ce dernier montre quelques nouveautés dans son art. Apollinaire fait l'éloge de l'« instinct » de Manguin ce qui le classe parmi les artistes favorisés, bien que son art ne soit pas original. Il indique les innovations stylistiques de Camoin qu'il n'accepte pas parce que cet artiste renie ce qui faisait son style jusqu'ici. Et selon Apollinaire, ce n'est pas une bonne évolution.

Dans sa critique des peintres qui étaient anciennement fauves, Apollinaire présente les nouvelles directions de leur quête artistique qui vient à maturité. Georges Braque a peint des images fauves entre 1906 et 1907, mais il s'occupe désormais de la construction de la composition ; Jean Puy a créé des peintures fauves vers 1905, aujourd'hui il expose deux de ses œuvres, *La Belle Nonchalante* et *L'Étude de nu au soleil*, qui témoignent d'un style marqué par la « nonchalance » et la « lassitude » mais qui ne sauraient pas être ennuyeuses, « lassantes ». ¹⁵

L'œuvre d'Othon Friesz, *Travail à l'automne*, est celle qui connaît le plus grand succès à cette exposition, bien qu'Apollinaire trouve son style empreint de « décadence ». « Il nous présente en un seul morceau d'énormes dimensions plusieurs morceaux facticement soudés. » ¹⁶ Ce reproche témoigne le nouveau moteur du style d'Othon Friesz, la construction.

Apollinaire énumère aussi d'autres artistes, comme Van Dongen, Diriks, Klingsor, Marie Laurencin, Paul Signac, Dufy, Rouault, le Douanier Rousseau etc. Voici enfin comment il résume la 24^e Exposition des Indépendants : « En somme, le Salon des indépendants de 1908 est aussi intéressant que ses aînés. Il contient moins de nouveautés mais les tendances sont mieux tranchées... » ¹⁷



III. 2. Philip de László : La Duchesse de Rohan, née Herminie de la Brousse de Verteillac, 1911.
Huile sur toile ; 115×95 cm. Signé à gauche en bas : P.A. László / Paris 1911 VI. Collection
particulière. J. B. Darrasse © de Laszlo Foundation

Le 11 février 1911, dans *L'Intransigeant*, Apollinaire résume le livre de Michel Puy, *Le Dernier État de la peinture*, où les fauves reçoivent une place de choix du point de vue de l'histoire de l'art.¹⁸

S'agissant du Salon des indépendants de 1911, Apollinaire sépare en trois catégories les peintres fauves. Le premier est « Quelques vieux fauves » où nous trouvons

Van Dongen, Girieud et Vlaminck dont l'art est « un crime ». « ...triste, triste... ».¹⁹ Le deuxième, « Quelques jeunes fauves », est constitué de peintres peu connus pour leur style fauve, comme Dunoyer de Segonzac, La Fresnaye, Chabaud ou Paul Véra. Le troisième groupe, « Les fauves du temps jadis », réunis les artistes qui sont « plus audacieux encore dans le coloris que jamais ».²⁰

Dans la chronique du Salon d'automne de 1911, Apollinaire a pour objectif de défendre son ami Picasso, et la nouvelle tendance artistique initiée par ce dernier, le cubisme.²¹ À côté de cela, il consacre quelques phrases aux fauves : « Les derniers fauves » exposent des images à la manière de Matisse.²²

Nous devons attirer l'attention sur une étude d'Apollinaire de 1913 où, dans un des passages, il explique la raison d'être du cubisme en présentant les tendances artistiques de l'impressionnisme à l'expressionnisme.²³ En ce qui concerne le fauvisme, il énumère les plus grands maîtres du courant ; parmi eux nous pouvons lire le nom de Béla Czóbel en tant que « Gobel » dans le recueil publié en 1991.²⁴ Cette information est très importante pour l'histoire de l'art hongrois parce qu'il n'y a que Czóbel qu'Apollinaire mentionne comme peintre hongrois fauve. « C'est à partir du Salon d'automne 1906 que l'on commença à appeler du nom de "fauves" un certain nombre de peintres parmi lesquels on comptait Henri Matisse, André Derain, Girieud, de Vlaminck, Friesz, Dufy, Camoin, Manguin, Gobel [sic]... »²⁵

Les recherches menées par les spécialistes hongrois n'ont connu jusqu'ici que les critiques de Louis Vauxcelles, de Gelett Burgess,²⁶ de Friedrich Ahlers-Hestermann,²⁷ de J.-C. Holl et de Henry Éon sur Czóbel, car ils sont les plus célèbres critiques d'art de l'époque. Lucien Mainssieux souligne aussi l'influence importante du jeune peintre oriental, qui a exercé de l'ascendant sur Matisse : « L'âme inquiète d'un Matisse devait découvrir le chemin de Damas de son perfectionnement dans les schémas barbares apportés par ce Hongrois, prototype d'énergie concentré et de violence brutale, en ses nus d'outremer et de cadmium, cerclés de traits impérieux et noirs énormes. Cet homme qui dégageait une forte attraction vivait dans un atelier de Vaugirard avec toute la simplicité primitive du ghetto natal, tel qu'un pionnier dans sa cellule. Belle figure expressive et puissante du Bonaparte, manières directes et fortes, masque bronzé du conquistador. Un lit, deux chaises, un seau à ordures comme en prison, une table et le matériel à peindre, c'est tout. Aux murs quelques échantillons de cet art nègre et virulent. Voilà ce qui devait séduire Matisse, vers 1907–1908. »²⁸ Il y a d'autres journalistes qui s'occupent du peintre hongrois, comme Sophie Barthélémy le montre dans son étude,²⁹ mais le fait que ce soit Apollinaire qui place l'art de Czóbel à côté de ceux des peintres fauves français dans cet article préparé probablement en 1913, peut relancer le débat né pendant la conférence.³⁰ La polémique se dresse autour de la question de savoir si les spécialistes (surtout hongrois dans ce cas-là) utilisent pertinemment la notion *fauves hongrois* qui est tout de suite devenue *terminus technicus* au cours des recherches.³¹

Notre projet n'est pas de juger l'usage du terme *fauves hongrois*, ou bien de déterminer le cercle des peintres fauves hongrois (ce qui serait la matière d'une autre étude), mais nous avons voulu attirer l'attention sur cette citation inconnue d'Apollinaire, et inviter les chercheurs à un nouveau dialogue sur cette question scientifique et ce, afin d'entretenir et de nourrir le débat.

Les artistes hongrois dans les critiques écrites par Apollinaire

Apollinaire a non seulement fait des remarques sur les artistes français, mais en raison de ses origines mélangées, il a aussi considéré l'œuvre des artistes étrangers, surtout celles des Polonais et des Russes. Comme son « horizon » s'ouvrait vers l'Europe de l'Est et l'Europe centrale dans le domaine des beaux-arts, c'est tout naturellement qu'il a aussi consacré quelques pages aux artistes hongrois.

Il mentionne en tout premier selon l'ordre chronologique « Mme Katona » en 1910 concernant l'exposition du Cercle international des arts.³² Nous pouvons identifier cette dame comme étant Adeline Madarász (Pest, 1871 – Budapest, 1962), fille de Viktor Madarász, maître hongrois de la peinture historique, et femme de Béla Katona peintre, qui était élève de Bertalan Székely, grand peintre de la peinture historique, à l'Académie des Beaux-Arts de Budapest. Elle habita ensuite longtemps à Paris, où elle fréquentait l'Académie Julien. Dès 1910, elle participa à des expositions du grand salon officiel hongrois Société nationale hongroise des Beaux-Arts (Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat) au Műcsarnok, du Salon National (Nemzeti Szalon) de Budapest, et elle fut membre de la Société des femmes peintres hongroises (Magyar Képzőművésznők Egyesülete).³³

En suivant toujours la chronologie, nous trouvons aussi une femme peintre hongroise dans les écrits d'Apollinaire. Ilma Gräff-Dreyfus³⁴ est née en 1872 à Sopron, et elle était élève du maître local, Rezső Steiner (1854–1945).³⁵ Dès 1899, elle présentait ses peintures aux salons du Cercle des Beaux-Arts de Sopron (Soproni Képzőművészeti Kör).³⁶ Lors du second de ces salons en 1900, elle a réussi à occuper une place dans un commentaire.³⁷ Dans cette critique, l'auteur soulignait que ses œuvres *Nature morte*, *Roses* et *Religieuse* (*Csendélet*, *Rózsák*, *Apáczsa*) étaient assez « impressionnantes ». Il louait son *Etude de tête* (*Tanulmányfej*), et il reconnaissait ses « talents de peinture de portrait » d'après ses effigies. Elle participait aux expositions de la Société nationale hongroise des Beaux-Arts (Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat) ; à celle de 1902/3, l'État a acheté un exemplaire de sa lithographie *La scierie d'Oberstdorf* (*Oberstdorfi fűrészmalom*).³⁸ (Ill. 1.) Cette lithographie prouve aussi ses relations allemandes, car elle l'a envoyée d'une adresse munichoise selon le catalogue d'exposition.³⁹ Nous devrions aussi mieux examiner ses relations autrichiennes, car, dans les Archives de la Société des femmes peintres autrichiennes, il nous restait une lettre d'Ilma Gráf qu'elle a écrite à propos de la fondation de la Société en 1910. Elle en était donc probablement membre.⁴⁰ *Les lettres de Paris* (*Párisi levél*) de Károly Lendvai,⁴¹ l'article de György Bölöni⁴² et les informations des catalogues d'exposition démontrent qu'elle était déjà à Paris vers 1907–1908. En 1907 elle a participé à l'exposition du Salon d'Automne,⁴³ et elle a exposé un « intérieur de campagne »⁴⁴ au Salon de la nationale. Dès 1908, elle se présentait au Salon des indépendants.⁴⁵

Apollinaire mentionne deux fois la peintre Gráf en 1910, d'une manière toujours très encourageante : « Tout près chatoie le séduisant envoi de Mme Ilma Graf; d'amusantes *Marionnettes au repos* et d'autres natures mortes : *Oignons et carottes*, ou bien encore *CEillets d'Inde*, *Oignons et aulx*. »⁴⁶ Cet article est publié à propos du Salon des indépendants, et un autre à l'occasion de l'exposition du Salon de la nationale : « Voici salle 6 bis : *Kiki avec ses jouets*, toile d'un joli sentiment et de couleurs harmonieuses, par Ilma Grof [sic !]. »⁴⁷ Grâce à ces commentaires d'exposition et à l'énumération du cata-

logue du Salon des indépendants de 1910, nous pouvons alors connaître les peintures qu'elle y expose ainsi que quelques unes aussi présentées à l'Exposition au Printemps de la Société nationale hongroise des Beaux-Arts à Budapest en 1911. Apollinaire cite trois natures mortes et une peinture représentant des marionnettes qui figurent sur la liste des œuvres exposées dans le catalogue,⁴⁸ car nous considérons qu'Apollinaire nomme les peintures conformément à ce qu'il voit sur les images, et que la signification du mot « guignol » peut aussi être proche du mot « marionnette » (cela dépend si le manipulateur le contrôle du dessus par des ficelles). *Kiki avec ses jouets* décrit par Apollinaire à propos du Salon de la nationale s'adapte très bien à l'autre tableau *Guignols*, exposé au Salon des indépendants, et intitulé ainsi par l'auteur d'après ce qu'il avait sous les yeux. Un de ces deux Guignols est présenté à l'Exposition au Printemps de la Société nationale hongroise en 1911, à côté de *Dahlias*, déjà exposé au Salon des indépendants de 1908.⁴⁹

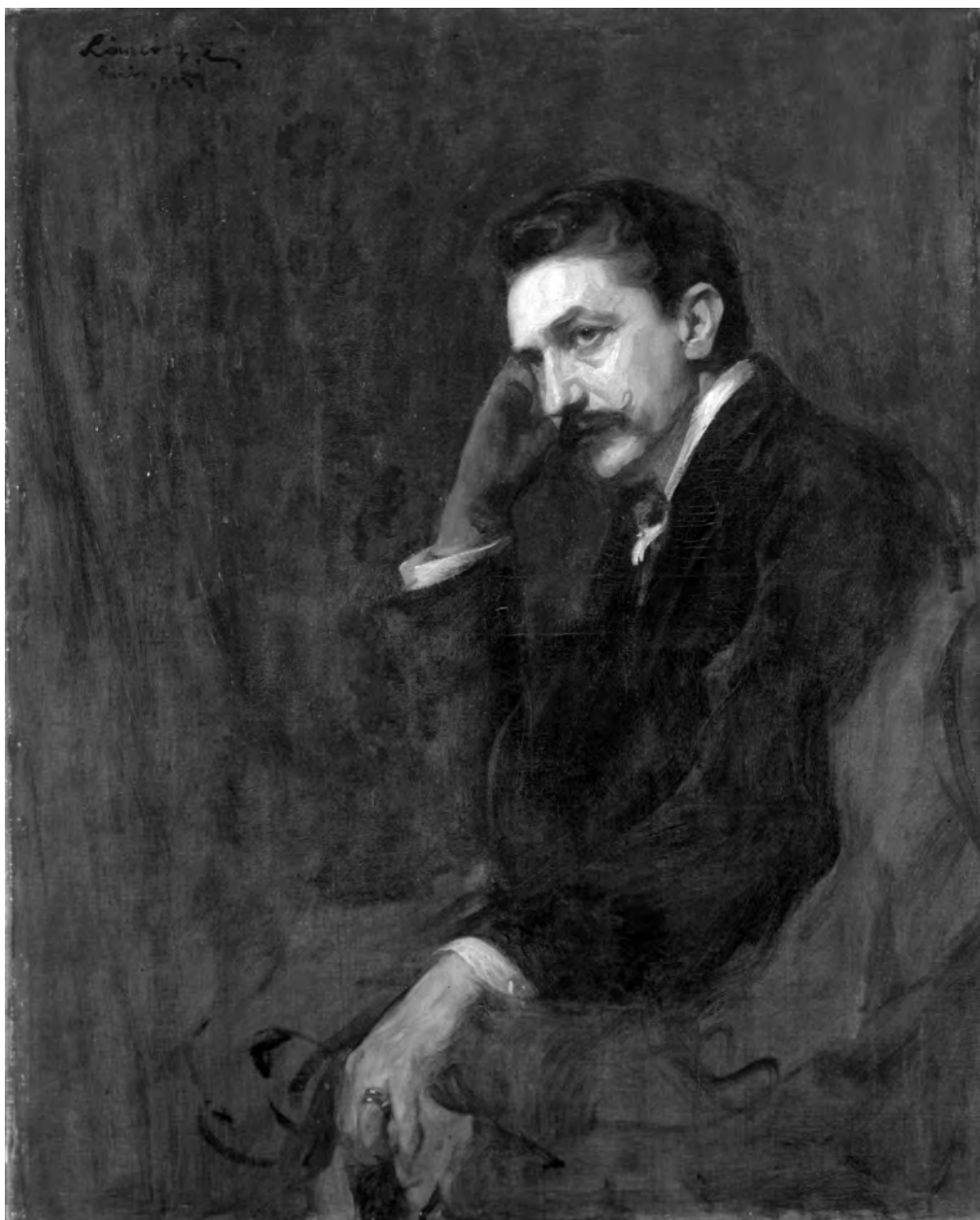
Apollinaire fait l'éloge de « *Chrysanthèmes*, joli tableau d'un bel effet par Mme Ilma Graf-Dreyfus » en 1911, exposé lors du Salon de la nationale.⁵⁰ Cette peinture de Gráf est aussi soulignée par Károly Lyka en 1953, comme une des plus importantes œuvres de la peintre.⁵¹ Nous rencontrons son nom encore trois fois dans les critiques d'Apollinaire, en 1912 concernant le Salon des indépendants, et en 1913 à l'occasion des expositions des deux sociétés d'artistes déjà mentionnées. Comme dans toutes les critiques d'Apollinaire écrites sur Ilma Gráf, il reconnaît son style, il fait l'éloge de son art, et, en plus, il tance ses contemporains, car « L'envoi de Mme Ilmazrof [sic !] est plein d'accent. Il semble qu'on eût pu mettre cette artiste un peu plus en valeur. »⁵²

Entre-temps, elle s'est mariée, elle a changé son nom pour celui de Gráf-Dreyfus, et en 1914, elle s'est installée à Paris en passant par Munich, selon le chroniqueur de la vie artistique de Sopron.⁵³ Il nous restait une caricature de Gráf sur Carl Sternheim (1878–1942), dramaturge expressionniste.⁵⁴ C'est très important parce que Sternheim était en contact avec le Cavalier bleu (Der Blaue Reiter) : au début des années 1900, ils ont construit avec sa femme, Thea Löwenstein (à l'origine Bauer) qui « impressionnait les expositions expressionnistes »,⁵⁵ la Schloss Bellemaison où ils recevaient par exemple Carl Einstein, historien de l'art et critique et Klaus Mann, fils de Thomas Mann. A propos de Sternheim, nous devons mentionner son penchant de collectionneur : en 1908 il a acheté une peinture de Van Gogh à l'exposition organisée par Barkl et Thannhauser.⁵⁶ La recherche des relations entre Gráf et Sternheim, et Gráf en Allemagne pourrait être une tâche très intéressante...

Apollinaire évoque dans ses critiques le style de Philip Alexius de László (Fülöp László ; Pest, 1869 – London, 1937), le plus célèbre portraitiste de l'époque. Il mentionne deux fois en 1910, et une seule fois en 1912, le peintre qui s'installe à Londres, et qui obtient pour les années 1910 tout ce qu'un peintre peut espérer au niveau financier et au niveau de la reconnaissance. Il a déjà peint le portrait de Guillaume II d'Allemagne, de Léon XIII, de Pie XI, et plus tard celui de Miklós Horthy, d'Artúr Görgey, de Mussolini et de Roosevelt.

Apollinaire ne fait qu'énumérer trois de ses toiles ; cela montre qu'il ne souhaite pas favoriser les peintres « classiques », il s'intéresse à leurs styles dans le but de diffuser ses critiques à tous les amateurs.⁵⁷

Malheureusement, nous ne connaissons pas le vrai nom de M. de Clermont-Tonnerre, mais c'est probablement Aimé François Philibert de Clermont-Tonnerre (1871–1940), Duc de Clermont-Tonnerre et Pair de France, puis Prince de Clermont-Tonnerre.



III. 3. Philip de László : Le Comte Robert de Montesquiou-Fézensac, 1905. Huile sur toile ; 98,5×79 cm. Signé à gauche en bas : László F.E. / Paris 1905. Collection particulière.
Jacqueline Hyde © de Laszlo Foundation for the Montesquiou portrait

La Duchesse de Rohan, née Herminie de la Brousse de Verteillac (1853–1926) était très célèbre à l'époque. Comme poétesse, elle reçoit les gens de lettres, comme par exemple Robert de Montesquiou-Fézensac (1855–1921), homme de lettres et dandy. Philip de László peint des portraits des deux personnages que nous connaissons, heureusement.⁵⁸

Le portrait de la Duchesse, peint en 1911, est présenté au Salon de la nationale⁵⁹ (Ill. 2.) où l'artiste ne se présente qu'entre 1912 et 1914, car en général, il participe plutôt au Salon des artistes français. La peinture a une copie faite par Louis-Marie Lécharny (née en 1955) en 1922 pour une collection privée.⁶⁰

Robert de Montesquiou-Fézensac (Ill. 3.) était une des plus illustres personnalités de Paris au tournant du siècle : pour lui, un seul portrait ne suffisait pas, il a commandé un total de plus de 50 portraits de lui-même par des maîtres comme Jacques-Émile Blanche et Whistler. László l'a probablement rencontré pour la première fois quand il fréquentait l'Académie Julian en 1890–1891. Comme il entretenait des relations familiales avec la famille Gramont à laquelle il était très lié, il visitait souvent le « salon » d'Antonia Corisande Élisabeth de Gramont, Élisabeth de Clermont-Tonnerre, femme de lettres et aristocrate française, surnommée « la duchesse rouge ». C'est ici, qu'il a pu faire la connaissance du peintre László à qui il a consacré un livre en 1912, intitulé *Philipp László, un portraitiste lyrique*. Après sa mort, il a écrit la préface du livre d'Oakley William, *Selections from the Work of P. A. de László*. László a peint le portrait de son ami en décembre 1905 à Paris, au 17–19 rue Visconti où était jadis l'atelier de Delacroix. Il l'a aussi présenté à Londres au grand public en 1907 à l'occasion de son exposition individuelle.⁶¹

La critique d'Apollinaire sur József Brummer (Zombor/Sombor, 1883 – New York, 1945) n'est pas examinée dans notre étude, car Krisztina Passuth a déjà fait dans son article le compte rendu de la vie du sculpteur devenu marchand d'œuvres d'art.⁶²

Mihály Munkácsy se trouve aussi dans les écritures d'Apollinaire mais critiqué comme étant un peintre n'ayant pas bon goût. Il le cite à propos d'une exposition organisée à la galerie de Barbazanges, intitulé *Céramiques et miniatures persanes*. « Il y a là des miniatures d'influence italienne ou flamande qui prouvent que les Persans ne comprenaient pas l'art occidental et les morceaux de cet ordre sont mauvais comme des peintures de l'École ou les pires morceaux de Munkácsy. »⁶³ Nous pouvons voir ici aussi qu'Apollinaire dévalorise les peintres académiques – attitude que nous avons pu constater vis à vis de Philip de László.

Nous avons déjà mentionné le cas de Béla Czóbel par rapport à des critiques d'Apollinaire sur les fauves.

Apollinaire fait de bonnes remarques sur Imre Szobotka (Zalaegerszeg, 1890 – Budapest, 1961) et Elemér Kóródy (Soborsin / Săvârşin, 1889 – Ungvár, 1914) dans la critique du Salon des indépendants de 1913 : il range leur style au même niveau que celui de Chagall, Metzinger et Le Fauconnier. Il souligne les « efforts intelligents pour sortir du dessin et du coloris de l'école » des tableaux cubistes de Szobotka,⁶⁴ il énumère les « efforts très dignes d'intérêt » de Kóródy dans les articles de *Montjoie* !⁶⁵ et de *L'Intransigeant*.⁶⁶

Szobotka n'expose qu'une seule peinture, *Sous les arbres*, au Salon des indépendants de 1913. Mais Kóródy présente trois tableaux, deux nus et un portrait.⁶⁷

Apollinaire fait des remarques sur Zsigmond Nagy de Gyügye (Nagybánya / Baia Mare, 1872 – Budapest, 1932), plus tard peintre célèbre de la cour espagnole, à propos de son exposition individuelle à Paris, car la galerie Georges-Petit présentait, en 1914, ses peintures inspirées par la culture *matyó* (originale de Mezőkövesd, caractérisée par les couleurs vives notamment dans les vêtements, et présentant un mode de vie particulier) et la culture tzigane. Dans les années 1910, la presse hongroise s'intéressait beaucoup au peintre alors reconnu auprès du grand public de son pays natal, et

élève de Munkácsy et de Gyula Benczúr, peintre académique.⁶⁸ En novembre 1913, la presse a rendu compte de son séjour de plusieurs semaines à Mezőkövesd qui visait à exécuter des peintures de genre *matyó* pour l'exposition de 1914 à Paris. Dans le cadre de son séjour, il participait au mouvement qui voulait fonder une colonie d'artistes à Mezőkövesd.⁶⁹ Dans un article de *Pesti Hírlap* de 1914, on lit quelques lignes sur l'exposition parisienne de Nagy de Gyügye durant laquelle les amateurs de l'art peuvent voir, dans les trois petites salles de la galerie Georges-Petit, les toiles représentant des costumes *matyó*. L'auteur anonyme considère qu'il est important de mentionner que ces œuvres sont significatives, car elles nous présentent une culture hongroise inconnue. Il fait l'éloge des peintures *matyó* de l'artiste, mais il lui reproche ses portraits.⁷⁰

Le baron Albert Nyáry, peintre, historien, archéologue et ethnographe se souvient aussi de cette exposition parisienne qui est placée « dans le salon le plus en vogue » de la capitale : selon lui, Nagy de Gyügye n'est pas assez « reconnu en Hongrie, mais maintenant Paris le satisfait. » Nagy de Gyügye est arrivé à Paris après avoir surmonté les difficultés, et il est devenu élève de Munkácsy pendant quatre ans, puis il est retourné dans son pays pour quelques années, et alors, il repart pour Paris, mais « il garde son atelier à Budapest ». Il est allé à Mezőkövesd au hasard où il a rencontré la culture *matyó*. Plusieurs peintres y étaient déjà venus depuis longtemps, mais pas un seul ne s'en était emparé comme lui.

Nyáry montre que le public peut découvrir sur ses tableaux : la fiancée dansant et autour d'elle, les demoiselles d'honneur qui l'habillent, assises sur terre, trois jeunes filles composant un bouquet de fleurs, et trois filles partant pour travailler au petit matin. Nyáry accentue la tonalité de base, froide ou chaude, de tous les tableaux de son collègue, dans lesquelles les figures s'insèrent. L'auteur s'inquiète de savoir si ses peintures resteront à l'étranger : « Cela nous fait presque mal de nous séparer de cette collection dont aucune pièce ne sera plus visible pour nous. Car ce pays gardera chacune d'elles. »⁷¹

Apollinaire souligne l'importance ethnique des œuvres de Nagy de Gyügye, mais il critique son style et son coloris (pour lui, Nagy de Gyügye est un peintre classique du « genre Munkácsy ») : « Le tout dans une manière un peu brutale, un peu sommaire, mais riche et très caractéristique. »⁷² « La manière riche et très caractéristique » fait référence plutôt au choix du sujet.

En ce qui concerne les toiles exposées, Apollinaire nous donne leurs titres, ou bien leurs descriptions. Pour l'identification des œuvres, un catalogue d'exposition de commémoration et de collection de 1934 nous aide : la Société nationale hongroise des Beaux-Arts a présenté les peintures de l'ensemble des périodes artistiques.⁷³ Selon le rapport de *Pesti Hírlap*, *Garçon matyo dans un czarda* pourrait être similaire à *A szőlőcsárdás*, tandis que *Femmes matyo se rendant à l'église* est identique à *Templomból hazatérő parasztok*, *Jeunes fiancés matyo* est le même que *Fiatal matyó házások*, et « des fous de village » et *Falu bolondja* sont pareils. D'après le catalogue de 1934, dans la description « vieilles femmes fumant la pipe » nous pouvons reconnaître *Pipázó cigányasszony*, car Apollinaire le cite parmi les représentations des scènes de vie des tziganes.

Apollinaire mentionne aussi un tableau *Fileuse matyo*. De plus, il nous donne des descriptions de brodeuses, et enfin il souligne l'attrait que Nagy de Gyügye a éprouvé pour des vêtements juifs. Malheureusement, nous ne pouvons pas connaître ces motifs parce qu'ils ne sont pas cités dans les articles. A part cela, il énumère quelques pein-

tures en les décrivant, mais nous connaissons beaucoup d'œuvres abordant le même sujet que celui de l'article du Pesti Hírlap et du catalogue de 1934.

Pesti Hírlap mentionne un portrait de Joseph-Auguste de Habsbourg-Lorraine, prince palatin de Hongrie, à qui Nagy de Gyügye donnait des cours de peinture,⁷⁴ et de Sándor Giesswein, prélat apostolique, homme politique et écrivain, exposés à la galerie Georges-Petit. Apollinaire n'en dit rien.

Parmi les peintures exposées à Paris et citées dans le Pesti Hírlap, le grand public pouvait voir la composition visuelle des scènes quotidiennes de la culture tzigane et matyó à l'exposition de Budapest, en 1934. Quelques toiles peuvent être identifiées : *Matyó anya gyermekével* et *Gyermekét tápláló matyóasszony* [Mère matyó avec son enfant], *Matyó pár* est identique avec *Fiatal matyó házasság* [Jeunes mariés matyó].

Sándor Galimberti (Kaposvár, 1883 – Budapest, 1915) et Valéria Dénes (Budapest, 1877 – Pécs, 1915) attirent l'attention d'Apollinaire grâce à leur exposition dans la galerie de Berthe Weill en mai 1914 (en fait, ils y ont exposé plusieurs fois). Comme Krisztina Passuth l'a déjà écrit dans son étude de 2006, nous ne connaissons pas ces œuvres, mais il s'agit probablement de celles qui circulaient dans les salons de Paris à cette époque.⁷⁵ Dans cet article vantant l'exposition, Apollinaire compare le couple hongrois à André Lhote, peintre cubiste, et il attire l'attention du public sur les « proportions héroïques » de Valéria Dénes.⁷⁶

Apollinaire fait encore trois petites remarques qui sont intéressantes pour nous. Il commente les tableaux de Jan Styka (1858–1925) peintre d'origine austro-hongroise, dont les œuvres sont exposées au salon de la Galerie La Boétie auprès des toiles de ses fils, qui s'inspirent de l'histoire de la Pologne et de la Hongrie.⁷⁷

« Mme Szarvady », alors Wilhelmine Clauss-Szarvady (1834–1907), une des plus célèbres pianistes de l'époque, était la femme de Frigyes Szarvady (1822–1882), publiciste et secrétaire diplomate hongrois à Paris. Louis Gustave Ricard, fameux portraitiste, a fait une représentation d'elle, toujours au 19^e siècle qui fut présentée au cours de deux expositions rétrospectives en 1912 dont Apollinaire fait la critique. Le public pouvait admirer ce portrait au Jeu de Paume et au Grand Palais, le dernier organisé dans le cadre du Salon d'Automne.⁷⁸

Apollinaire parle d'Aurél Stein (Pest, 1862 – Kabul, 1943) archéologue de réputation mondiale, linguiste, et explorateur surtout de l'Asie centrale, d'origine hongroise, à l'occasion de l'ouverture de la nouvelle aile « King Edward VII Galleries » du British Museum en 1914. C'est en ce lieu que se trouve aussi la collection de Stein, qui se compose de peintures, de manuscrits, et d'objets archéologiques.⁷⁹ Sur ce vernissage, plusieurs articles ont été publiés parmi lesquels celui d'Apollinaire.⁸⁰

Conclusion

Nous pouvons constater qu'Apollinaire a fait l'éloge de Matisse et de quelques uns de ses collègues fauves au début du mouvement, et c'est plus tard, en 1913 qu'il a cité d'autres peintres, comme Béla Czóbel. Cependant, il est très inhabituel qu'il n'ait jamais cité Róbert Berény, « apprenti fauve »⁸¹ que d'autres critiques acceptaient comme peintre fauve.

Nous ne connaissons pas l'ensemble de l'œuvre d'Adeline Madarász et d'Ilma Gráf-Dreyfus, non plus que leurs qualités de peintre et, par conséquent, nous ne pouvons pas bien saisir la position d'Apollinaire et la raison pour laquelle il a référencé ces artistes dans ses critiques. Découvrir les relations internationales dans l'histoire de l'art constitue une nouvelle tâche pour les chercheurs hongrois.

Philip de László était important pour Apollinaire : non seulement il l'a mentionné à cause de sa présence au Salon des artistes français et au Salon de la nationale mais aussi parce qu'il connaissait une renommée mondiale. De plus, Zsigmond Nagy de Gyügye ouvrait de nouveaux horizons à Apollinaire grâce à la culture très colorée, matyó et tzigane qu'il représentait.

Les critiques de 1913 et de 1914, formulées par le maître intellectuel du cubisme, font l'éloge des œuvres des peintres hongrois appartenant au style cubiste : Imre Szo-botka, Valéria Dénes, Sándor Galimberti et Elemér Kóródy (ce que l'on peut supposer pour ce dernier, malgré la rareté de ses peintures). Ces compliments étaient mérités.

Nous ne connaissons pas les œuvres entières de la plupart des artistes hongrois, sauf quelques-uns, qu'Apollinaire a critiqués favorablement. Il nous semble qu'Apollinaire a choisi les peintres moins connus non pas à cause de leur classification dans le mouvement de l'avant-garde, mais à cause de leur « caractère pittoresque », par exemple dans le cas de Zsigmond Nagy de Gyügye.⁸² Nous avons pu étudier la position d'Apollinaire face à l'art féminin, par exemple à travers la peinture de Marie Laurencin dont il a fait toujours l'éloge.⁸³

Notes

- 1 Je tiens à remercier Enikő Róka et Anne-Laure Girot pour leurs précieux conseils et leur aide pendant la réalisation de cette étude. « *Vadak* » – *Fauves. Les fauves hongrois de Paris à Nagybánya 1904–1914*. Exposition à la Galerie nationale hongroise, du 21 mars au 30 juillet 2006. Puis en France: au Musée d'Arts Modernes de Céret, au Musée Matisse du Cateau-Cambrésis, et au Musée des Beaux-Arts de Dijon. Nagybánya: aujourd'hui en Roumanie, Baia Mare. En 1896, une colonie d'artistes s'est installée dans la ville. Elle est devenue le berceau de la modernité pour trois générations.
- 2 Peintres hongrois aux Salons des Indépendants (1905–1914). Réuni par Petra Kárai in *Vadak – Les « fauves » hongrois de Paris à Nagybánya (1904–1914)*. 1904–1914, éd. par Krisztina Passuth et György Szücs (Budapest: MNG, 2006), 322–325.
- 3 Ce chapitre a été résumé d'après la *Préface* et les *Notices* de Pierre Caizergues et Michel Décaudin, in Apollinaire, *Œuvres en prose complètes*, Tome II. Textes établis, présentés et annotés par Pierre Caizergues et Michel Décaudin (Bibliothèque de la Pléiade), (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1991), IX–XVI. et 1503–1814. Nous avons aussi envisagé la *Préface* de *Guillaume Apollinaire. Chroniques d'art 1902–1918*, textes réunis avec préface et notes par L.–C. Breunig (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1960), 7–19.
- 4 Caizergues et Décaudin, 1991, 1534.
- 5 *Médiations esthétiques – Peintres cubistes*. Manuscrit en décembre 1912, paru en mars 1913 chez Eugène Figuière, Paris.
- 6 Guillaume Apollinaire, "La critique des poètes," *Paris-Journal*, 5 mai 1914. in Caizergues et Décaudin, 1991, 671.

- 7 Publié en *Je dis tout*, le 12 octobre. Caizergues et Décaudin, 1991, 91.
- 8 Sans date et titre de journal. Caizergues et Décaudin, 1991, 103.
- 9 Caizergues et Décaudin, 1991, 103.
- 10 Publié dans *La Revue des lettres et des arts*, le 1 mai 1908. Caizergues et Décaudin, 1991, 104–110.
- 11 Caizergues et Décaudin, 1991, 104.
- 12 Caizergues et Décaudin, 1991, 104.
- 13 Voir: Georges Roque, “Le fauvisme et le cubisme: prototypes de l’art abstrait,” in Georges Roque, *Qu’est-ce que l’art abstrait ? Une histoire de l’abstraction en peinture (1860–1960)*, (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 2003), 61–74.
A propos du « primitivisme » de ces artistes, voir aussi les livres: Roger Shattuck, *Les primitifs de l’avant-garde. Henri Rousseau, Erik Satie, Alfred Jarry, Guillaume Apollinaire*, (Paris: Flammarion, 1974); Philippe Dagen, *Le peintre, le poète, le sauvage. Les voies du primitivisme dans l’art français* (Paris: Flammarion, 2010²), sur Apollinaire et les fauves français: 458–460.
- 14 Caizergues et Décaudin, 1991, 104.
- 15 Caizergues et Décaudin, 1991, 107.
- 16 Caizergues et Décaudin, 1991, 106.
- 17 Caizergues et Décaudin, 1991, 110.
- 18 Caizergues et Décaudin, 1991, 276–278.
- 19 Caizergues et Décaudin, 1991, 319.
- 20 Caizergues et Décaudin, 1991, 320.
- 21 Caizergues et Décaudin, 1991, 371–373.
- 22 Caizergues et Décaudin, 1991, 376.
- 23 Conservée à la Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. Il existe une autre version des dernières pages qui commente cette période avec l’expression « expressionnisme », cependant cette dernière version est incompréhensible en utilisant ce mot. Caizergues et Décaudin, 1991, 1595.
- 24 Caizergues et Décaudin, 1991, 508. Nous pouvons lire le français « z » lié à un « C » comme un « G ». Dans le même recueil se trouve aussi le manuscrit original de l’Antitradition futuriste ce qui nous assure du fait qu’Apollinaire pensait à Czóbel. Caizergues et Décaudin, 1991, 1681.
- 25 Caizergues et Décaudin, 1991, 508.
- 26 Gelett Burgess, “The Wild Men of Paris: Matisse, Picasso, and Les Fauves,” *The Architectural Record* May 1910.
- 27 Friedrich Ahlers-Hestermann, *Pause vor dem dritten Akt* (Hamburg, 1949), 167. Mentionné par Gergely Barki, “Czóbel Béla,” in *A Nyolcak (Les Huit)*, éd. par Csilla Markója and István Bardoly (Budapest – Pécs: MTA MKI – JPM, 2010), 245. Note 18.
- 28 Je voudrais dire merci à Gergely Barki de laisser à ma disposition cette lettre qu’il a publié dans *A Nyolcak*, 2010, 244–245. Note 16. Gergely Barki a eu la chance d’acquérir cet écrit, grâce à l’aide de M. le dr. Lőrinc Czeli, de M. François Roussier, monographe de Mainssieux et de Marval, en rapport avec les recherches sur Jacqueline Marcal citées dans l’étude sur Czóbel dans Gergely Barki, “Évolution vers le fauvisme dans les œuvres de jeunesse de Béla Czóbel,” in *Vadák – Fauves. Magyar Vadak Párizstól Nagybányáig 1904–1914*, sous la direction de Krisztina Passuth

- et György Szücs (Budapest: MNG, 2006) En français: *Fauves hongrois 1904–1914*. (Paris: Biro éditeur, 2008), 194–195. M. François Roussier est conservateur des legs de Marval à La Tronche où plusieurs documents sur Czóbel sont gardés.
- 29 Sophie Barthélémy, “*Pan ! Dans l’œil...*” La réception critique des fauves hongrois au Salon parisien de 1904 à 1914” in *Fauves hongrois*, 2008, 71–83.
- 30 *Egy új terminus technicus problematikája. Kutatások a Magyar Vadak témakörében*. Tudományos konferencia az ELTE és az MNG közös szervezésében, 2006. szeptember 27–28. (*La problématique d’un nouveau terminus technicus*. Recherches dans le domaine des Fauves hongrois. Colloque organisé par Université Eötvös Loránd et la Galerie nationale hongroise, le 27–28 septembre 2008)
- 31 A propos de cette question, plusieurs études que nous avons lues, sont à examiner, ainsi que les discussions avec les spécialistes.
- Krisztina Passuth, “Neósok: kelet– és középeurópai analógiák,” (Les Néos de Nagybánya : analogies de l’Europe de l’Est et centrale) in *Nagybánya. Nagybányai festészet a neósok fellépésétől 1944–ig* (*Nagybánya. La peinture de Nagybánya de l’apparition des Néos jusqu’en 1914*) (Miskolc: MissionArt Galéria, 1992), 43–57; Krisztina Passuth, “Volt-e fauve festészet Magyarországon?” (Y-avait-il une peinture fauve en Hongrie?) in *Nagybánya*, Colloque, le 27–28 février 1997. Szombathelyi Képtár, 1997. 47; László Jurecskó, “Vadászat a magyar vadakra,” (Chasse aux « fauves » hongrois.) *Műértő* 9 (2006) Nr. 5: 1–2; Éva Forgács, “Vadak vagy koloristák?” *Holmi* 19 (2007) Nr. 3: 310–314; Judit Szabadi, “Fauve-ok-e a magyar fauve-ok?” (Sont-ils vraiment fauves, les fauves hongrois ?) *Új Művészet* 18 (2007) Nr. 1: 4–13. et Nr. 2: 14–19; Katalin Sinkó, “A kiállítás mint « kulturális transzfer »,” (L’exposition en tant que « transfert culturel ») *Nemzeti képtár*, Annales de la Galerie Nationale Hongroise Vol. 26. (2008) Nr. 11. Spécialement pour la question: 156–159; Enikő Róka, *Ernst Lajos gyűjteménye és az Ernst Múzeum* (*La Collection de Lajos Ernst et le Musée Ernst*), tiré du manuscrit pour la soutenance de la thèse de doctorat; Csilla Markója, “A festő tapintata. A Nyolcak helye a magyar modernizmus történetében,” (Le tact du peintre. La place des Huit dans l’histoire du modernisme hongrois) in *A Nyolcak*, 2010, 48–69; Le point de départ sur la discussion dans tous les cas, c’est l’exposition *Le fauvisme ou « l’épreuve du feu »*. *Éruption de la modernité en Europe*, Musée d’art moderne de la ville de Paris, 29 octobre 1999 – 27 février 2000.
- 32 *L’Intransigeant*, 12 mars. in Caizergues et Décaudin, 1991, 135.
- 33 Nous avons trouvé quelques informations sur l’œuvre d’Adeline Madarász dans les Archives (Lexikontár) de l’Institut de l’Histoire de l’Art du Centre de Recherches pour les Lettres de l’Académie Hongroise des Sciences (MTA BTK MKI), et une courte biographie dans le catalogue de la collection Saphier. *Hölgyek palettával: magyar nőfestészet 1895–1950* (Mesdames avec palette : peinture de femmes hongroise 1895–1950) Saphier Dezső gyűjteménye a Magyar Nemzeti Múzeumban (La collection de Dezső Saphier au Musée national hongrois.), 28 Janvier – 24 Mars 2008, exposition organisée par Zoltán Gálig, Dezső Saphier et Mátyás Gödölle (Budapest: MNM, 2008), 224.
- 34 Soit Gráf que j’utiliserai dans mon étude, la forme la plus proche de la langue hongroise.

- 35 Endre Csatkai, *A soproni képzőművészet története 1848–1948 (L'histoire des beaux-arts de Sopron 1848–1948)* (Sopron, 1962), 32. Károly Lyka mentionne aussi qu'elle a pris des cours de peinture chez Steiner en 1899. Les Archives de l'Institut de l'Histoire de l'Art du Centre de Recherches pour les Lettres de l'Académie Hongroise des Sciences, Adattár MKI–C–I–17 / Lyka Károly hagyaték (Legs de Károly Lyka).
- 36 *A soproni képzőművészeti kör II. műkiállítása (La deuxième exposition du cercle des beaux-arts de Sopron)* (Műcsarnok, 1899), 256–257, 542.
- 37 Sans date de l'article (Les Archives de l'Institut de l'Histoire de l'Art du Centre de Recherches pour les Lettres de l'Académie Hongroise des Sciences, Adattár MKI–C–I–17 / Lyka Károly hagyaték (Legs de Károly Lyka), mais probablement c'est dans *Soproni Napló* où József Zombory l'a publié, parce que c'est le seul journal qui a paru dans cette période.
- 38 *Művészet* 2 (1903) Nr. 1: 73.
- 39 *A Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat 1902/03 kiállítása (L'exposition 1902/03 de la Société hongroise des Beaux-Arts)*, catalogue, Les Archives de l'Institut de l'Histoire de l'Art du Centre de Recherches pour les Lettres de l'Académie Hongroise des Sciences, Adattár MKCs–C–I–80 / 267–64.
- 40 Voir le site www.vbkoe.org/bestandsverzeichnis.pdf
- 41 Károly Lendvai, "Párisi levél," (Lettre de Paris) *Művészet* 6 (1907) Nr. 4: 272–274.
- 42 György Bölöni, *Képek között (Parmi les images)*, éd. par Edit Erki (Budapest: Szépirodalmi, 1967), 72.
- 43 Bölöni, 1967, 72.
- 44 « vidéki interiört ». Lendvai, 1907, 272–274.
- 45 Les catalogues du Salon des indépendants. *Société des Artistes Indépendants. Catalogue de la 24^{ème} Exposition*. Grandes Serres de l'Alma et des Invalides, au Cours-la-Reine. Du 20 Mars au 2 Mai, 1908. L'Emancipatrice, 3, rue de Pondichéry, Paris. – 2750–3–08. 173; « Gráf Ilma [...] ils participent avec natures mortes et images figuratives. » Károly Lendvai, "Párisi levél," *Művészet* 7 (1908) Nr. 4: 273.
- 46 *L'Intransigeant*, 22 mars. in Caizergues et Décaudin, 1991, 154.
- 47 *L'Intransigeant*, 17 avril. in Caizergues et Décaudin, 1991, 175. « Kiki » ne peut pas être identifié à Kiki de Montparnasse (Châtillon-sur-Seine, 1901 – Paris, 1953), car elle n'avait que neuf ans à cette époque.
- 48 *Société des Artistes Indépendants. Catalogue de la 26^{ème} Exposition*. Baraquements du Cours la Reine, au Pont des Invalides. Du 18 Mars au 1^{er} Mai, 1910. L'Emancipatrice, 3, rue de Pondichéry, Paris (XVe). N° 8465–3–10. 156.
- 49 *Képzőművészeti Társulat 1911. Tavaszi kiállítás-katalógus (Société des Beaux-Arts 1911. Catalogue de l'exposition de printemps)*, (Budapest: OMKT, Műcsarnok, 1911), 43. *Société des Artistes Indépendants. Catalogue de la 24^{ème} Exposition*. Grandes Serres de l'Alma et des Invalides, au Cours-la-Reine. Du 20 Mars au 2 Mai, 1908. L'Emancipatrice, 3, rue de Pondichéry, Paris. – 2750–3–08. 173. Elle expose une quatrième œuvre aussi, intitulé *Fleurs jaunes*, mais Apollinaire ne la cite pas.
- 50 *L'Intransigeant*, 20 avril. In Caizergues et Décaudin, 1991, 315. ou « Les envois charmants de Mme Ilma Graf » *L'Intransigeant*, 3 avril. in Caizergues et Décaudin, 1991, 432.

- 51 Károly Lyka, *Festészeti életünk a millenniumtól az első világháborúig. Magyar művészet 1896–1914 (Notre vie de peinture du Deuxième Millénaire jusqu'à la Première Guerre mondiale)* (Budapest: Képzőművészeti Alap, 1953), 93.
- 52 *L'Intransigeant*, 21 mars. in Caizergues et Décaudin, 1991, 544. ou « Salle 4 bis. [...] le meilleur est celui de Mme Ilma Graf. » Montjoie !, 14 avril. in Caizergues et Décaudin, 1991, 568.
- 53 Csatkai, 1962, 32.
- 54 *Der Querschnitt*. « *Das Magazin der aktuellen Ewigkeitswerke* » 1924–1933, sous la direction de Christian Ferber (Berlin Ullstein, 1981), 52.
- 55 Ágnes Kovács, “Magángyűjtemények a Müncheneri Zsidó Múzeumban. Heinrich Thannhauser Modern Galériája,” (Collections privées dans le Musée juif de Munich. La galerie moderne de Heinrich Thannhauser) *Balkon* 16 (2008) Nr. 7–8: 14.
- 56 Kovács, 2008, 14.
- 57 En fait, la situation de De László est ambiguë, car il a été considéré comme peintre moderne grâce à son style, sa légèreté. Voir l'exposition au Salon national où on l'a cité parmi les Peintres hongrois modernes: *László Fülöp kiállításának katalógusa (Le catalogue de l'exposition de Philip de László)* (Budapest: Nemzeti Szalon, 1907). Voir le *Catalogue raisonné of works by Philip de László, M. V. O: P. R. B. A: 1869–1937* sur le site <http://www.delaszloarchivetrust.com/> ; et *De László: A Brush with Grandeur*, ed. Sandra De Laszlo (London: Paul Holberton Pub: 2004).
- 58 *L'Intransigeant*, 30 avril 1910. in Caizergues et Décaudin, 1991, 188.
L'Intransigeant, 3 mai 1910. in Caizergues et Décaudin, 1991, 194.
L'Intransigeant, 18 avril 1912. in Caizergues et Décaudin, 1991, 453.
- 59 « Salle 3 bis. Laszlo a peint un bon portrait de la duchesse de Rohan. » *L'Intransigeant*, 25 avril 1912. in Caizergues et Décaudin, 1991, 453.
Société nationale des Beaux-Arts. *Salon de 1912* (Paris: Baschet, 1912), n°786, ill. p. 60.
- 60 Je voudrais remercier ici pour son aide chaleureuse le Dr. Caroline Corbeau, qui est membre des Archives De László et directeur du Catalogue raisonné, et la Fondation des Archives De László pour les informations et les illustrations.
- 61 Fine Art Society, London, *An Exhibition of Portrait Paintings and Drawings by Philip A. László*, mai–juin 1907. n°21; D'après la Fondation des Archives De László, c'est le Dr. Gabriel Badea-Păun qui a rassemblé toutes les informations sur le portrait de Montesquiou-Fézensac.
- 62 Krisztina Passuth, “Keleti kiállítás a Művészházban 1911,” (Exposition représentant l'art orient dans Művészház (Maison d'artiste) en 1911.) *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 50 (2001) Nr. 1–2: 85–102. Je voudrais remercier ici Mme Passuth pour son orientation en ce qui concerne Brummer et Brunner. Pour connaître la relation proche entre József Brummer et le douanier Rousseau, voir aussi: Krisztina Passuth, “A festő és modellje. Henri Rousseau: Joseph Brummer portréja (1909),” (Le peintre et son modèle. Henri Rousseau: Le portrait de Joseph Brummer [1909]) *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 51 (2002) Nr. 3–4: 225–249.
- 63 *L'Intransigeant*, 26 avril. in Caizergues et Décaudin, 1991, 327.
- 64 *Montjoie !* 18 mars. in Caizergues et Décaudin, 1991, 539. La citation de Szobotka est déjà connu par les spécialistes hongrois, car Éva Bodnár l'a citée dans le catalogue

- de l'exposition de Szobotka en 1971. *Szobotka Imre (1890–1961) emlékkiállítása (Exposition rétrospective de Imre Szobotka [1890–1961])* Exposition à la Galerie nationale hongroise, d'août au septembre 1971. Exposition et catalogue sous la direction de Dr. Éva Bodnár (Budapest: MNG, 1971), 9.
- 65 *Montjoie !* 18 mars. in Caizergues et Décaudin, 1991, 539.
- 66 *L'Intransigeant*, 2 avril. in Caizergues et Décaudin, 1991, 548.
- 67 “Magyar festők a Salon des Indépendants kiállításain (1905–1914),” (Peintres hongrois aux Salons des Indépendants [1905–1914]) in Passuth et Szücs, 2006. 324. Sur l'œuvre d'Elemér Kóródy voir Károly Tóth, “Kóródy Elemér és Ferentzy Márta. Egy elfelejtett magyar festő–házaspár a párizsi avantgárd bűvkörében,” (*Elemér Kóródy et Márta Ferentzy. Un couple de peintres hongrois oublié, séduit par l'avant-garde de Paris*) *Ars Hungarica* 36 (2008) Nr. 1–2: 245–268.
- 68 En 1903 Károly Lyka a visisté son atelier. En 1907 il a eu une exposition chez Kálmán Könyves. A Paris il a eu sa première exposition individuelle en 1912.
- 69 “Művésztelep Mezőkövesden,” (*Colonie d'artistes à Mezőkövesd*) *Budapesti Hírlap*, 19 novembre 1913. Sans Nr. de page.
- 70 *Pesti Hírlap*, 8 mai 1914, 9.
- 71 „Szinte fáj megválnunk a gyűjteménytől, amelynek egyetlen darabját se fogjuk többé viszontlátni. Mert a külföld ott tartja egytől egyig magának.” Albert Nyáry, “Két magyar kiállítás,” (Deux expositions hongroises) *A Cél* (1914) Nr. 1: 70.
- 72 *Paris-Journal*, 21 mai. in Caizergues et Décaudin, 1991, 716–717.
- 73 *Az 1934. évi Emlék- és gyűjtemény-kiállítás tárgymutatója*. Március 3 – április 2. (*Index de l'exposition d'oeuvres et de collections de l'an 1934*) (Budapest: Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat), 17–20.
- 74 *Budapesti Hírlap*, 8 février 1914. Sans n° de page.
- 75 Krisztina Passuth, “Le Café du Dôme, les salons des Stein et la boutique de la Mère Weill” in *Fauves hongrois*, 2008. 67.
- 76 *Paris-Journal*, 26 mai 1914. in Caizergues et Décaudin, 1991, 731.
- 77 *Paris-Journal*, 11 mai 1914. in Caizergues et Décaudin, 1991, 692.
- 78 *L'Intransigeant*, 15 mai 1912. in Caizergues et Décaudin, 1991, 463.
- 79 Helen Wang, «Catalogue of the Sir Aurel Stein Papers in the British Museum Central Archives,» in *Sir Aurel Stein, proceedings of the British Museum study day, 23 March 2002*: edited by Helen Wang, curator of East Asian money at the British Museum (The Trustees of the British Museum, 2004), 61.
- 80 *Paris-Journal*, 10 mai 1914. in Caizergues et Décaudin, 1991, 690.
- 81 Gergely Barki, “Róbert Berény, l'apprenti fauve,” in *Fauves hongrois*, 2008. 201–207.
- 82 Voir aussi les livres sur le primitivisme dans la note 13.
- 83 Daniel Marchesseau, *Marie Laurencin (1883–1956). Catalogue raisonné de l'Oeuvre Peint* (Japon: Éditions du Musée Marie Laurencin, 1986); Elisabeth Louise Kahn, *Une Femme inadaptée in Feminist Histories of Art* (London: Ashgate, 2003).

Ungarische Plakate des Ersten Weltkriegs: Ikonografie der Propaganda – im internationalen Kontext

Anikó Katona

Einleitung

In den letzten Jahren ist das Forschungsinteresse am Ersten Weltkrieg gewachsen. Das hundertjährige Jubiläum des ganz Europa erschütternden Krieges kommt langsam näher. Neben der Erinnerung an die Opfer wird die Interpretation des Krieges in den Fokus rücken. Während bisher der Schwerpunkt der Forschung auf der militärischen Sicht der Kriegsereignisse lag, hat sie sich in letzter Zeit dem Alltag des Krieges, dem Leben im Hinterland und den vom Krieg ausgelösten gesellschaftlichen und kulturellen Veränderungen gewidmet.

In der Disziplin der Kunstgeschichte ist seit den 1970er Jahren „Visual Culture“ das bezeichnende Paradigma, welches sich mit den künstlerischen und von Medien vermittelten Bildern auseinandersetzt und sich auf die Interpretation und Wirkung der Bilder konzentriert. Das Plakat ist ein Element der visuellen Kultur und gleichzeitig ein Produkt der Propaganda. Zugleich ist es künstlerisch gestaltet und zeigt und formt die Denkart einer Gesellschaft. Darum kann die Analyse von Plakaten zu wichtigen Einsichten über gesellschaftliche Prozesse während des Krieges führen.

Forschungen über die Plakatkunst verlangen eine interdisziplinäre Sichtweise und die Verwendung von Methoden verschiedener Wissenschaften. Heutzutage werden Arbeiten publiziert, die das Plakat in dessen ursprünglichen Kontext stellen und dessen Bedeutung für die Zeitgenossen rekonstruieren.¹ (Daneben ist auch interessant, welche Bedeutung ein Symbol oder Motiv seitdem bekommen hat und welchem Wandel diese Bilder in der Gesellschaft in späterer Folge unterlegen haben.) Die ehemaligen Bedeutungen sind heute verloren und müssen rekonstruiert werden, was meistens zu Schwierigkeiten führt. Wir können nicht mit Sicherheit sagen, ob ein Plakat erfolgreich war oder nicht, ob es gesellschaftlich repräsentativ rezipiert wurde, oder ob es keine Massen beeindrucken konnte. (Bekanntes Beispiel ist das Lord Kitchener Plakat, eines der berühmtesten Plakate des Krieges, dessen Wirkung bis heute umstritten ist).² Ich werde die Wirkung der ungarischen Weltkriegsplakate untersuchen und ihre ehemalige Bedeutung zu rekonstruieren versuchen. Die Weltkriegsplakate wurden oft im internationalen Kontext gesehen, weil die Krieg führenden Nationen sehr viel gemeinsam hatten: Motive, Symbole und Wirkungsmethoden wurden gegenseitig kopiert, obwohl sie unterschiedliche Bedeutungen in den verschiedenen Ländern hatten.



Abb. 1. Mihály Biró: Jegyezzünk hadikölcsönt,
1917. OSZK, PKT, PKG.1917/VH/22

Die neuesten Forschungen betonen die Bedeutung des Ersten Weltkriegs als Wendepunkt. Es handelt sich nicht einfach um einen der vielen Kriege, dieser hat nämlich die Normen und das Weltbild der Menschen verändert. Bis 1914 hat „das lange neunzehnte Jahrhundert“ gedauert, wie es oft umgangssprachlich bezeichnet wird, d. h. der Kriegsausbruch war die Ouvertüre des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts. Die Wende wurde durch den Verlust der Illusionen verursacht, welche in der ganzen Nachkriegsgeneration eintrat. Die Materialschlacht des Krieges stellte eine Erfahrung dar, die den entmenslichten Zustand des Weltgefüges neu definierte. Der erstmals mit Maschinengewehren, Panzern, Flugzeugen, U-Booten und Giftgas ausgetragene Krieg relativierte das menschliche Leben.

1914 traten die Doppelmonarchie Österreich-Ungarn, das kaiserliche

Deutschland, das Zarenreich Russland, das Frankreich der dritten Republik und das Viktorianische England in den Krieg. Der Stil der Plakate beruhte oftmals auf der Ikonografie des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts. Hochfliegende Allegorien, Historismus, pathetische Ideale und Heroismus sind für diese Epoche nach wie vor von Bedeutung. Den durch den Weltkrieg erregten Schock wollten die Auftraggeber der offiziellen Plakate und die privaten Reliquien-Hersteller des Krieges nicht zur Kenntnis nehmen. Es ging nicht um vorsätzliche Irreführung, sondern sie versuchten mit archaischen Motiven und uralten Idealen ein erträgliches Bild vom Krieg zu zeigen, welches die Betrachter nicht erschütterte. Der Weltkrieg verwandelte die Nationen des 19. Jahrhunderts in moderne Mächte, in denen die benutzten Bilder eine wichtige identitätsstiftende Rolle spielten. Die Nationen behielten aus ihrem Selbstbild des vergangenen Jahrhunderts jene Elemente, welche für die neu geformten Gemeinschaften maßgeblich bleiben konnten. Die Bilder der Weltkriegserfahrung wurden in das kollektive Gedächtnis der Völker eingeschrieben.

In der Österreich-Ungarischen Monarchie als einer multinationalen Gesellschaft, die ihre letzten Stunden während des Krieges erlebte, war die Identitätsfrage aufgrund der zahlreichen Minderheitsgruppen und verschiedenen Sprachen wesentlich komplexer. Trotzdem hatten die Plakate einen besonderen ungarischen Charakter.

Die Weltkriegsplakate zeigen Universalität in deren Thematik, Bildlichkeit und Sprache, laut Maurice Rickards und anderen Autoren.³ Im Diskurs um die Weltkriegs-plakate werden die internationalen Parallelen seit Langem thematisiert. Die Symbole, Motive und Überzeugungstechniken zeigen in den Krieg führenden Nationen eine gewisse Ähnlichkeit. Heute jedoch versucht jedes Land seine eigene Bildsprache im

Bereich der Weltkriegsplakate als Besonderes zu interpretieren. Durch die Plakate kann man die damalige Mentalität der verschiedenen Gesellschaften rekonstruieren, da sie das Selbstbild und die Ideale der jeweiligen Nationen verkörpern. Aufgrund dessen werde ich im Folgenden die ungarischen Plakate vorstellen und ihre besonderen Charaktereigenschaften analysieren.

Der Krieg als Zweck

In der Weltkriegszeit konnte die Plakatkultur noch auf eine relativ kurze Vergangenheit zurückblicken. Plakate hatten sich in den vorigen Jahrzehnten in Europa und Amerika verbreitet und ihre eigene Gestaltsprache entwickelt. Vor dem ersten Weltkrieg hatte der sezessionistische Stil seine Blütezeit und bildete in jedem Land unterschiedliche Variationen. Da die Plakatkunst rasch überall erfolgreich war, erkannten die Regierungen schon früh ihr Potenzial für eine mediale Kriegführung.

Die Werbeziele der Plakate waren in den verschiedenen Ländern sehr unterschiedlich. In England und in den Vereinigten Staaten, die erst 1916 in den Krieg eintraten, gab es (anfangs) eine Freiwilligen-Armee und die Plakate wurden deshalb vor allem zum Zweck der Rekrutierung eingesetzt. Im Unterschied dazu gab es keine Rekrutierung in



Abb. 2. Mihály Bíró: Polgáraink itthon, katonáink a fronton védik a hazát, 1914. OSZK, PKT, PKG.1914/VH/14

Deutschland oder in der k.u.k Monarchie, weil hier die allgemeine Wehrpflicht galt. In diesen Ländern waren unter den Weltkriegsplakaten vor allem jene über Kriegsanleihen repräsentativ, weil die Regierungen anstrebten, den Krieg statt einer Wehrsteuer durch freiwillige Unterstützung der Bevölkerung zu finanzieren. Zum Beispiel wurden in Ungarn insgesamt acht überregionale Kampagnen für Kriegsanleihen durchgeführt. Zwar wurde das „War Loan“ System auch in England und Amerika eingeführt, jedoch spielte da die Rekrutierung eine deutlich wichtigere Rolle in der Propaganda.

Neben diesen konkreten Zwecken war das eigentliche Hauptziel der Plakate, die emotionale Unterstützung der Bevölkerung zu gewinnen. Dies wurde erst in den späten Kriegsjahren relevant, da die Bevölkerung den Krieg am Anfang in allen Ländern mit Begeisterung aufnahm. Für den heutigen Betrachter erscheint die Zustimmung zur Kriegserklärung im Jahre 1914 in Ungarn fast unverständlich. Selbst die vorher pazifistische, linksorientierte Sozialdemokratische Partei unterstützte den Krieg aus Angst vor der Auflösung der eigenen Partei, da die im Kriegszustand eingeführte Zensur die Veröffentlichung gegenseitiger Meinungen verbot. Darüber hinaus hatte die Regierung ein allgemeines Wahlrecht versprochen, wofür die Sozialdemokraten jahrelang gekämpft hatten. Nachdem sich 1914 jeder auf einen Blitzkrieg eingestellt hatte, verbreitete sich mit der Verlängerung des Krieges und den vorher unvorstellbaren menschlichen und materiellen Verlusten bald Erbitterung in der Gesellschaft. Die Propaganda spielte deswegen im Laufe des Krieges eine immer wichtigere Rolle.

Verschiedene Argumentationen wurden entwickelt, um die Unterstützung der Bevölkerung zu gewinnen. Die Plakate stellten den Weltkrieg überall als Selbstverteidigung dar: „Die Anstrengung ist notwendig, um unsere Familie und Heimat zu schützen.“

Diese Argumentation ist mit der Wiederbelebung der nationalistischen Gefühle verbunden; Nationalsymbole und heroische Elemente der nationalen Vergangenheit kamen auf den Plakaten zur Verwendung.

In der amerikanischen Plakatkultur wurde die Beherrschung des teuflisch und barbarisch porträtierten Feindes, des Deutschen Hunnen, zum zentralen Bildelement. Dessen bedrohendes Gesicht und blutige Hand war beispielsweise das Hauptmotiv auf einem „Liberty Bond“ Plakat.⁴ Im Gegensatz dazu kann man die ungarischen Plakate eher als spöttisch bezeichnen, da sie den Feind blamieren, anstatt ihn beängstigend zu zeigen. Auf dem Plakat mit der Titelschrift „Szerbia hadat üzen“ (Serbien erklärt den Krieg) sieht man einen „lächerlichen“ Serben (Abb. 5.), der auf einem Esel reitet.⁵ Die Betonung der Minderwertigkeit



Abb. 3. Antal Weiss: Szerbia hadat üzen, 1914.
OSZK, PKT, PKG.1914/VH/6

des Gegners verdeutlicht den Schutz der eigenen Kultur als Zweck des Krieges. Auf beiden Seiten kommen auch extreme Darstellungen vor, die den Krieg als Schlacht zwischen Gut und Böse präsentieren. Die historisierenden Plakate zeigen die ewige Schlacht durch den Kampf zwischen dem mittelalterlichen Ritter und dem Drachen. Der Krieg ist auf diesen Plakaten als Kreuzzug oder Heiliger Krieg zu verstehen, deren Unterstützung eine moralische Pflicht bedeutet.

Die ungarischen Plakate stellen häufig die Gedanken von Zusammenhalt und Solidarität dar. Die Zeichnung der Kriegsanleihe wurde als eine Möglichkeit gerechtfertigt, durch welche die im Hinterland Gebliebenen zum Krieg beitragen konnten. Das eingezahlte Geld ermöglichte demzufolge, dass die Frontsoldaten den Feind früher besiegen und ins Heimatland zurückkehren würden.

Ein Text⁶, der für die dritte Kriegsanleihe wirbt, zitiert so eine angeblich urungarische Tradition, welche den Zusammenhalt symbolisiert. Der Sage nach trug der Führer der Völkerschaften ein blutiges Schwert durch das Land, was bedeutete, dass jeder sich seiner Schar anschließen sollte. In der Argumentation des Textes bedeutet das blutige Schwert, dass das Land in Not ist und jeder seine nationale Pflicht erfüllen muss.

Aber was bedeutete diese Pflicht für die zivile Bevölkerung? Auf den Plakaten wird oft betont, dass die Zeichnung der Kriegsanleihe ebenso ein Opfer ist, wie der Frontdienst. Auf den Kriegsplakaten von Mihály Biró (Abb. 1, 2) kämpfen Zivilisten und Soldaten nebeneinander.⁷ Der Text eines Kriegsanleihe-Plakates äußert, dass beide Beiträge genauso patriotisch sind: „Polgáraink itthon, katonáink a fronton védik a hazát.“ (Unsere Bürger verteidigen die Heimat zu Hause, unsere Soldaten an der Front). Ein anderes Beispiel für die Propagierung der Solidarität ist in der Wochenschrift „*A Társaság*“ (*Die Gesellschaft*) von 1918 zu finden.⁸ Auf dem Titelblatt befindet sich ein Bild mit einer ein Schwert haltenden und in Gold gekleideten Göttin mit folgender Bildunterschrift: „Kard és arany visz győzelemre. Küzdjünk és jegyezzünk hadikölcsönt!“ (Das Schwert und das Gold bringen uns zum Sieg. Kämpfe und zeichne Kriegsanleihen!“). Auf der ersten Seite wurde der Anleiheschein des Königs und der Königin veröffentlicht, um die Solidarität des königlichen Paares zu zeigen.

Die Propaganda nutzte das Mitgefühl der Bevölkerung des Hinterlandes für ihre an der Front kämpfenden Söhne, Männer und Väter. Es ging nicht um Kampf zwischen Gut und Böse oder um die Verteidigung der ungarischen Kultur; laut der Propaganda war der Krieg eine gemeinsame Anstrengung. Auffällig ist, dass auf den ungarischen Plakaten der Hinweis auf irgendwelcher moralischer Argumentationen oder abstrakter Ziele fehlt.



Abb. 4. Elek Falus: Had- és Népegészségügyi Kiállítás, 1915. OSZK, PKT, PKG.1915/VH/21

Motiven und Symbole des Patriotismus

In der Ikonografie der Kriegsplakate spielen die nationalen Sinnbilder eine zentrale Rolle, da sie durch die Stimulierung patriotischer Gefühle die größte Überzeugungskraft vermittelten. Die Propaganda spielte eine wichtige Rolle in der Kriegsführung, weshalb auch den Plakaten der Feinde besondere Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt wurde. Zeitschriften publizierten Plakate des Feindes oder der Alliierten. Zum Beispiel erschienen in der erwähnten Wochenschrift „A Társaság“ Plakate aus Russland, Frankreich, England usw., und solche Zusammenfassungen erschienen auch im Ausland. Die deutsche Zeitung „Das Plakat“ war das wichtigste Presseorgan, das über den Plakatkampf berichtete.

Die Plakate haben sogar aufeinander reagiert. Durch die Presse wurden die ausländischen Kampagnen bekannt, oft antworteten die heimischen Propagandisten auf die in Plakaten manifestierten Anklagen. „Wer ist Militarist?“ – fragte Louis Oppenheim auf einem Plakat⁹ und zeigte eine Statistik über die vorherigen Kriege, über das für Kriege ausgegebene Geld usw. Das Plakat gibt eine Antwort auf das Hauptmotiv der Alliierten-Propaganda „Der Deutsche Militarismus“.

Für Österreich-Ungarn wurde das größere und machtvollere Deutschland nicht nur in der Kriegsführung, sondern auch in der Propaganda zum Vorbild.¹⁰ Häufig wurden auf deutschen Weltkriegsplakaten nationale und christliche Symbole verwendet. Für die Deutschen symbolisierten die mittelalterlichen Motive, wie der gepanzerte Ritter oder die Fraktur, die ehemalige Größe Deutschlands, also die ruhmvolle nationale Ver-

gangenheit. Die ritterliche Kultur repräsentiert die moralische Hoheit Deutschlands, der gepanzerte Wehrmann kämpft oft mit einer Inkarnation des Bösen, mit einem Drachen oder einer Schlange. Eines der berühmtesten deutschen Weltkriegsplakate wurde von Lucian Bernhard geschaffen, welches eine gepanzerte Faust zeigt mit dem Aufruf: „Das ist der Weg zum Frieden – die Feinde wollen es so!“ (Den Feind als Schlange oder Drache darzustellen sowie die Tradition des Drachentöters hatten in Deutschland und Österreich eine mittelalterliche Tradition, wie zum Beispiel Siegfried in den Nibelungen.)

Deutschlands Mittelaltermode wirkte sich auf die Propaganda von Österreich-Ungarn aus. Auf dem Plakat für den achten Aufruf zur Zeichnung von Kriegsanleihen stellt der Österreicher Julius Klinger eine mit acht Pfeilen durchschossene Schlange dar.¹¹ Auf



Abb. 5. Márton Tuszka: Augusztai Alap, 1915.
OSZK, PKT, PKG.1915/VH/12

dem ungarischen Plakat zur Ausstellung über Heer- und Volksgesundheitswesen (Had- és Népegészségügyi Kiállítás) sieht man das rote Kreuz auf einem mittelalterlichen Schwert, welches in Schlangen sticht (Abb. 4.).¹² Die Schlangen symbolisieren hier die zu überwindenden Krankheiten, nicht die Feinde, wie bei anderen Beispielen. Auf den ungarischen Plakaten dominiert die Figur des einfachen Frontsoldaten, welcher auch in der deutschen und der österreichischen Plakatkunst häufig zu finden ist. Als ungarische Version des in Deutschland und England ebenso verwendeten Ritters versteht man das Plakat über Prinzessin Augusztá. Die Prinzessin spielte eine aktive Rolle während des Krieges, sie widmete sich Verwundeten durch Pflege und finanzielle Unterstützung. Sie war die Begründerin der Bewegung „Gold für Eisen“ und einer Wohltätigkeitsorganisation namens „Augusztá Alap“ (Auguste Stiftung). Die nicht besonders attraktive Prinzessin wird als eine königliche, reitende Figur auf Márton Tuszka's Plakat dargestellt (Abb. 5.).¹³ Dieses Motiv wurde als Logo auf mehreren Plakaten der Augusztá Stiftung verwendet.

Als historisches Zitat tritt die Husaren-Figur traditionell in den Vordergrund. Die Revolution und Freiheitskampf von 1848-49 machte die Husaren bekannt, die zum Symbol der starken, unabhängigen und ruhmreichen Nation wurden. Die Uniform der Husaren wird seither als typisch ungarisch angesehen. Auf dem Plakat von Imre Földes (Abb. 6.) kämpfen die heroischen Husaren mit Schwert und auf ihren Pferden reitend. Die ganze Komposition ist weit weg von der Realität des Krieges und stellt eine Schlacht der Vergangenheit dar.¹⁴

Insgesamt erscheinen die folkloristischen Kleider, Figuren und Motivschätze der Volkskunst typisch für die ungarischen Plakate. Auf Jenő Haranghy's Plakaten für Kriegsanleihen wurden in Volkstracht gekleidete junge Frauen und Männer dargestellt: eine Frau mit ihrem schlafenden Kind oder ein Mädchen und ein alter Mann finden das Geld (für die Anleihe) in ihrer rustikal gefertigten Bauerntruhe (Abb. 7, 8).¹⁵ Volkskunst und folkloristische Kultur symbolisierten die ursprünglichen Werte Ungarns, die typische Eigenheit der Nation, für welche der Patriotismus steht und welchen es zu verteidigen gilt.

Zur Stimulierung der patriotischen Gefühle wurden in allen Ländern die zentralen Nationalsymbole auf den Plakaten benutzt. Neben den Farben der Fahne, den Elementen des Wappens kommen nationale Wappentiere vor, wie der Adler in Deutschland und Österreich, der Löwe in England oder der Hahn in Frankreich. In Ungarn nutzten die



Abb. 6. Imre Földes: A Világháború Képes Krónikája, 1914. OSZK, PKT, PKG.1914/VH/22



Abb. 7. Jenő Haranghy: A hadseregnek pénz kell, 1917. OSZK, PKT, PKG.1917/VH/27

Plakatgestalter oft die rot-weiß-grüne Trikolore, beispielsweise ist dies auch auf den erwähnten Plakaten von Elek Falus und Márton Tuszky auffällig.¹⁶ Das Motiv des Wappens verwendete Mihály Biró häufig als alleiniges Symbol der Nation: Soldaten und Bauern verteidigen das Vaterland gemeinsam auf mehreren Biró Plakaten.¹⁷ Sein Lieblingsmotiv wurde das Münzgeld, welches die Kriegsanleihen repräsentierte. Auf dem Münzgeld sieht man sehr deutlich das Wappen, mit welchem der Künstler auf die Heimat verweisen wollte.

Auf den Weltkriegsplakaten treten die Wappentiere in allen Ländern als streitbar und stark auf: Auf einem französischen Plakat kämpft das Huhn mit einem deutschen Soldaten, auf einem Deutschen fliegt der Adler neben der Friedenstaube als starker Verteidiger des Landes. Ungarns Symbol wurde der Turul, ein mythologischer, adlerähnlicher Vogel, von dem sich die Ungarn nach den Ursprungssagen herleiten. Der Kult des Turuls hatte sich im 19. Jahrhundert ver-

breitet. Zum Millenniumsfest im Jahr 1898 wurden Turul-Statuen an jedem „Tor“ des Landes und in allen wichtigen Städten aufgestellt. Er erschien auf Plakaten des Millenniumsfestes und wurde ins Logo von zahlreichen Produkten integriert. Der Turul-Vogel bekam eine wichtige Rolle auf den Weltkriegsplakaten, als starkes und kriegerisches Symbol Ungarns. Auf mehreren Plakaten steht er neben dem Wappen. Besonders interessant erscheint die Komposition von Jenő Haranghy, in welcher der Turul ein Schwert hält und über kämpfenden Massen auf einer riesigen Münze sitzt.¹⁸ Die Münze bezieht sich hier abermals auf die Kriegsanleihe, das Schwert weist auf die Tradition des blutigen Schwerts und auf den Kampf hin und das furchtbare Tier verkörpert die ungarische Nation.

Anhand unterschiedlicher Beispiele habe ich die Elemente der patriotischen Ikonografie vorgestellt. Der Stellenwert dieser Ikonografie galt nicht nur in der Weltkriegszeit, sie bestimmte die politische Kommunikation der Nachkriegszeit und wirkt bis heute.

Stilfragen

Der Stil der Plakate hängt eng mit ihrem Inhalt und mit ihrer patriotischen Ikonografie zusammen. Das Plakat ist eine Gattung, welche immer die Innovation sucht: Der Stil muss frisch und neu sein, um die größtmögliche Wirkung zu erreichen. Die

Weltkriegsplakate widersprechen dieser Regel, sie werden überall in der Welt traditionell formuliert. Dafür sind die Auftraggeber der Plakate verantwortlich: Die Regierungen bevorzugten den Realismus für eine allgemein gültige „Verständlichkeit“. In Ungarn, in einer Gesellschaft, wo die Mehrheit kein Wahlrecht hatte und die führenden Positionen von den Aristokraten besetzt wurden, hing dies mit dem politischen Konservatismus der Regierung zusammen.

Zu den Gründen des konservativen Stils der Plakate gehört auch die relativ spät beginnende Geschichte des Plakats. Die 1910er Jahre brachten die Blütezeit der Sezession in Ungarn, vorwiegend dominierend bei Plakatkünstlern wie Géza Faragó und Mihály Biró. Biró ließ auf seinen politischen Plakaten eine aussagekräftige Formsprache reifen, die ihn auch im Ausland bekannt machte. Über sein Népszava-Plakat (mit dem berühmten Roten Mann) schreibt Peter Klinger in 2011: „(...) losgelöst von jener sozialistischen Zukunftsromantik seiner Vorgänger oder symbolischen Verkläuserung. Plakate von derartigen Dramatik hatte man in Europa in der Straßen bis dato noch nie gesehen...“¹⁹

Die bei Biró entwickelte kräftige politische Kommunikation fand aber keine Nachfolge unter den Weltkriegsplakaten. Seine eigenen Designs waren ebenso statisch wie die anderen. Der dekorative, realistische und sezessionistische Stil von Imre Földes, den er schon bei seinen Filmplakaten ausgebildet hatte, blieb unverändert, wie auch der populäre Plakatstil von Jenő Haranghy und anderen Grafikern.

Die Lage sieht ähnlich aus in den anderen Krieg führenden Ländern, wo das Plakat eine längere Tradition hatte und wo die Avantgarde schon in der Mitte der 1900er Jahren auftrat. In Deutschland hat der Historismus den Plakatstil definiert, aber auch bei den Alliierten dominierte der realistisch-konservative Begriff.

Aufgrund der Vorgaben der Auftraggeber war es in Ungarn unmöglich, effektive Kriegspropagandaplakate zu gestalten. Dies veränderte sich 1919 nach der Machtübernahme der sozialistischen Räterepublik. In dieser 133-tägigen Epoche wurden großartige politische Plakate entworfen.

Der Weltkrieg war trotz des konservativen Stils der Plakate eine bedeutsame Epoche der Plakatkunst. In dieser Zeit entdeckte die Politik das Plakat als Massenmedium, welches überall auf der Welt Verwendung fand. Die Formen und der Stil wurden noch nicht völlig ausgebildet, aber die Reifung der effektvollen Propaganda hatte begonnen.



Abb. 8. Jenő Haranghy: Jegyezzünk Hadikölcsönt!, 1917. OSZK, PKT, PKG.1917/VH/25

Die Funktion der Bilder auf den Plakaten

In der Diskussion über ungarische Weltkriegsplakate sind nicht nur Ikonografie und Stil zu analysieren, sondern man sollte die anthropologischen Ansichten berücksichtigen und auf die Funktion der Bilder achten. Die von Aby Warburg gegründete Bildwissenschaft hat einen riesigen Einfluss auf die heutige Kunstgeschichte. Die Bildtheorie und das Visual Culture Paradigma vereinigen heute verschiedene Forschungsfelder, wie beispielsweise Medientheorie, Bildanthropologie und Rezeptionsästhetik. Diese relativ neuen Theorien eliminieren die Trennung von künstlerischen und alltäglichen Bildern und recherchieren die Funktion der Bilder in der Gesellschaft, sowie die Methoden und Botschaften der Bildproduktion.

Das Plakat als Gattung hatte nie die Darstellung an sich als Ziel, sondern die Repräsentation des Allgemeinen. Das politische Plakat hat nicht nur andere Zwecke als das Werbeplakat, sondern es hat auch eine spezielle Methodik und Ausdrucksweise. Kai Artringer schrieb darüber Folgendes:²⁰ „In der Konsumgesellschaft der westlichen Industriestaaten habe das Plakat im politischen Meinungsstreit wie für die Selbstdarstellung der Träger des öffentlichen Lebens immer mehr an Aussagekraft und unverwechselbarer Signifikanz der Gestaltungsformen eingebüßt: »Wo Werbeagenturen die Wahlchancen einer politischen Partei mit den gleichen Mitteln wie die Verkaufserfolge kommerzieller Waren zu steigern versuchen, scheint das Ende der Geschichte des politischen Plakats als eines eigenständigen Mediums angezeigt zu werden.«”²¹

Die politischen Plakate sprechen eine metaphorische Bildsprache, in welcher Personifizierung, Generalisierung, Metapher und Sinnbilder die Hauptrollen spielen. Am Bild des Plakates gibt es keinen realen Raum, keine realen Personen oder Ereignisse. Die Figuren werden in einem metaphorischen Raum dargestellt, die Aktivitäten repräsentieren Gedanken und mehr noch Instinkte.

Dafür steht als Beispiel der „einfache“ Frontsoldat als Lieblingsprotagonist auf den Plakaten: Er kann jeden an der Front dienenden Mann für die Betrachter ersetzen, seine Figur symbolisiert einen bestimmten Teil der Gesellschaft.

Diese Verallgemeinerung als Methode des politischen Plakats wurde in Ungarn von Mihály Biró in den 1910er Jahren entwickelt und wurde auf den Plakaten der Sozialdemokratischen Partei verwendet. Mit dem weltberühmten Roten Mann brachte Biró seine Methode zum Höhepunkt, indem er eine kraftvolle Visualisierung der streitenden Arbeiterklasse schuf.²² Riesige Figuren dominieren in Birós Kunst: während des Krieges kennzeichnen seine Plakate die gigantischen Soldaten. Sie kommen vor als Feindbilder, wie der gigantische Russe auf einem Charité Plakat für Sáros,²³ oder als Verteidiger, wie auf einem Kriegsausstellungsplakat (Erdélyi Hadikiállítás).²⁴

Die metaphorische Bildersprache bedeutet bei Biró nicht nur die Präsenz der Personifikationen, sondern auch die metaphorische Darstellung abstrakter Gedanken. Dafür ist die Münze als Sinnbild für die Kriegsanleihe das beste Beispiel. Münzen werden oft als Waffen benutzt: Mit einer Münze schlägt ein Bauer, hinter ihr verstecken sich Soldaten und Bürger, oder gemeinsam verwenden sie die Münze als Schützenstand. Die Idee, dass Geld Hilfe, Teilnahme im Krieg oder Verteidigung der Heimat bedeutet, wurde hier verbaliter dargestellt.



Abb. 9. Róbert Berény: Fegyverbe! 1919. OSZK, PKT, PKG.1919/TK/20

Nach Biró wurde die metaphorische, visuelle Sprache des politischen Plakats universal, mit welcher die Künstler abstrakte Inhalte ausdrücken konnten. Diese visuelle Sprache stammt unter anderen von den Traditionen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts ab. Bemerkenswert ist, wie sehr die Kunst der Allegorien diese Plakate oft beeinflusst. Am Anfang der Plakatgeschichte war die Verwendung der Allegorien typisch. Neue Erfindungen brauchten stets neue Symbole, wie die Dampfmaschine oder die Eisenbahn. Mit einer Personifikation (meistens einer schönen Frauenfigur) konnten die Designer diese Begriffe oder Produkte künstlerisch bewerben.²⁵

Neben Allegorismus lebte die Verwendung der Mythologie auf den ungarischen Weltkriegsplakaten weiter. Das Besondere ist, dass antike Götter öfter vorkamen, als christliche Symbole. Auf Géza Faragós Plakat steht ein geflügelter Genius im Stahlhelm, in Jenő Haranghys Komposition spürt Göttin Fortuna den Segen in Form von Geld und Lorbeerblättern und auf Dezső Bérs Werk stehen Mercurius und Vulcanus nebeneinander, welche Händler und Arbeiter symbolisieren, die sich für den Kriegszweck zusammenschließen.²⁶

1918 fand in Ungarn eine Revolution statt, die in der Folge in die Ungarische Republik führte. Die Auflösung der Österreich-Ungarischen Doppelmonarchie lag seit langer Zeit in der Luft. Die unterdrückten Nationalitäten bedeuteten für Ungarn eine ungelöste Frage, die am Ende den Krieg entschied. Die angespannte Situation in der ungarischen Innerpolitik verschärfte sich durch die militärischen Misserfolge. Als die Entente die ersten Friedensbedingungen diktierte, führte die Unzufriedenheit zu einem kommunistischen Putsch. Im April 1919 wurde die Föderative Ungarische Sozialistische Räterepublik ausgerufen, welche bis August 1919 bestand. Die neue Regierung

versuchte den Krieg fortzuführen und brauchte die Plakatpropaganda, um das Durchhaltevermögen zu stärken.

Mit der politischen Wende ist statt der konservativen Elite die linksorientierte Intelligenz in Position geraten, auch im künstlerischen Leben. Zur Gestaltung der offiziellen Propagandaplakate wurden junge, avantgardistische Künstler, wie die Mitglieder der Künstlergruppe „Nyolcak“ (Die Achten),²⁷ ausgewählt. Die expressionistischen, modernen Künstler stützten sich auf die während des Krieges geformte Bildsprache der politischen Plakatkunst und entwickelten sie weiter.

Laut István Orosz, einem der berühmtesten zeitgenössischen Platkünstler, müsse man ein Plakat folgendermaßen gestalten: „Falls Du ein Plakat entwerfen möchtest, sollst du erst dessen Nachricht schriftlich formulieren. Lies noch mal und noch mal was Du geschrieben hast und fühlst Du, dass es darin überflüssige Wörter und Sätze gibt, lass sie aus! Nach nochmaligem Durchlesen bleibt immer noch Vieles auszustreichen. Kürze es, und rahme es! Wenn du kein einziges Wort und keinen einzigen Buchstaben brauchst, dann bist Du fertig mit dem Plakat.“²⁸

Dieses Prinzip kommt in einem Plakat von Róbert Berény für die Ungarische Räterepublik zum Tragen, welches wohl eines der besten Plakate dieser Epoche ist (Abb. 9.).²⁹ Die Nachricht reduzierte der Künstler auf ein Wort: *Fegyverbe!* (~ *In die Armee!*). Die Komposition wird von einer sich fortschwingenden Figur bestimmt, die den Nachricht schreit und eine rote Fahne schwenkt. Die Figur ist seit Delacroixs Bild „Freiheit leitet das Volk“ Symbol der Revolution und Freiheitskampf geworden. Diese Figur wurde schon im Jahre 1916 Jules Abel Faivre auf einem Kriegsplakat in Frankreich erfolgreich verwendet („*On les aura!*“)³⁰. Diese Tradition verfolgte Berény in seiner kraftvollen Komposition, das Plakat verfasste einen einzigen, eindrucksvollen Ruf. Wie Biró schrieb: „Die politischen Plakate müssen meiner Meinung nach unbedingt von der schweren Last der sogenannten Sachlichkeit befreit werden. Dieser Begriff hemmt jeden Schwung, jede Wucht, mit welcher der Künstler durch sein Plakat auf die Masse einhämmern sollte.“³¹

Mit dem Plakat „Fegyverbe!“ erreichte diese Gattung in Ungarn den Höhepunkt. In jenem Moment konnte das Plakat seine Ausdrucksmöglichkeiten völlig ausnutzen. Das politische Plakat hatte einen langen Weg hinter sich, von den überfüllten Kompositionen der Kriegsanleiheplakate bis zu der effektvollen Propaganda von 1919.

Abkürzungen

DHM: Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin

MAK: Museum für Angewandte Kunst, Wien

OSZK, PKT: Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Plakát- és Kisnyomtatványtár, Budapest

Anmerkungen

- 1 Zum Beispiel: *Picture This, World War I Posters and visual culture*, ed. Pearl James (Lincoln & London: University of Nebraska Press, 2009).
- 2 Pearl James, „Introduction. Reading World War I posters,” in *Picture This*, 2009. 18.
- 3 Maurice Rickards, *Posters of the First World War* (London, 1967).
- 4 Fredrick Strothmann, *Beat back the Hun with Liberty Bond*, 1917–1918, Library of Congress, LC-USZC4–2950.

- 5 Antal Weiss, *Szerbia hadat üzen. Filmkomédia. Tivoli* (Budapest, 1914) OSZK, PKT, PKG.1914/VH/6 (Abb 3.)
- 6 József Kertész, *Mi a magyar nemzeti hadikölcsön?* (Was ist die Ungarschie Nationale Kriegsanleihe?) (Budapest, 1915).
- 7 Über Biró siehe: *Mihály Biró, Pathos in rot*, ed. Peter Noever (Wien, MAK, 2010).
- 8 *A Társaság* 5 (1918) Nr. 27.
- 9 Louis Oppenheim, *Wer ist Militarist? 1914–1918*, (Berlin: Hofbuchdruckerei Hermann Bergmann) DHM, GOS–Nr. PLo02744 Inventarnr. P 57/307.1–2
- 10 Über die deutschen Weltkriegsplakate siehe noch: Ursula Zeller, *Die Frühzeit des politischen Bildplakats in Deutschland, 1848–1918* (Stuttgart, Ed. Co., 1987).
- 11 Julius Klinger, 8. *Kriegsanleihe*, 1918. DHM, GOS–Nr. 96000283 Inventarnr. P 96/24. Der Autor ist österreichischer, das Plakat ist in Deutschland erschienen.
- 12 Elek Falus, *Had- és Népegészségügyi Kiállítás*, 1915. OSZK PKT, PKG.1915/VH/25
- 13 Márton Tuszka, *Gyorssegély az Augusztus Alap...*, 1915. OSZK. PKT, PKG.1915/VH/12
- 14 Imre Földes, *A Világháború Képes Krónikája*, 1914. OSZK. PKT, PKG.1914/VH/22
- 15 Jenő Haranghy, *Jegyezzünk Hadikölcsönt*, 1918. OSZK, PKT, PKG.1918/VH/11 und *A hadseregnek pénz kell*, 1917. OSZK, PKT, PKG.1917/VH/27
- 16 Abbild 4.
- 17 Abbild 1, 2.
- 18 Jenő Haranghy, *Jegyezzünk hadikölcsönt!*, 1917. OSZK, PKT, PKG.1917/VH/25
- 19 Peter Klinger, „Mihály Birós Roter Mann,” in *Mihály Biró, Pathos in rot*, ed. Peter Noever, (Wien: MAK, 2010).
- 20 Kai Artinger, *Das politische Plakat – Einige Bemerkungen zur Funktion und Geschichte* (Berlin, 2009), 18.
- 21 Artringer zitiert hier Thomas Trumpp.
- 22 Mihály Biró, *Népszava*, 1911. OSZK, PKT, PKG.1914e/39
- 23 Mihály Biró, *Művészsorsjáték az oroszduktal sárosi falvak fölépítésére. Kiállítása: A városligeti Szépművészeti Múzeumban ...*, 1914. OSZK, PKT, PKG.1915/VH/11
- 24 Mihály Biró, *Erdélyi hadikiállítás. Budapest–Szent–Margitsziget*, 1917. OSZK. PKT. PKG.1917/VH/3
- 25 Über Allegorismus und Rhetorik des Plakates und die Anfang der Plakats Geschichte schrieb Márton Orosz seine Facharbeit: www.netcult.ch/marci/diploma_hun.pdf
- 26 Géza Faragó, *Kössünk hadikölcsön–biztosítást! Magyar Országos Biztosító Intézet R. T. ...* 1917. OSZK, PKT. PKG.1917/VH/2. Jenő Haranghy, *Segíts magadon – az Isten is megsegít! Kössünk hadikölcsönt ...*, 1917. OSZK, PKT. PKG.1917/VH/26. Dezső Bér, *A Budapesti Kereskedelmi és Iparkamara felhívása: Kereskedők! Iparosok! Jegyezzetek hadikölcsönt!*, 1916. OSZK, PKT. PKG.1916/VH/12. Die Plakate kann hier gesucht werden: <http://www.kepkonyvtar.hu/>
- 27 Über Nyolcak siehe: *A Nyolcak*, Ausstellung und Catalog des Janus Pannonius Múzeums, eds. Csilla Markója und István Bardoly (Pécs: Janus Pannonius Múzeum, 2010).
- 28 „Ha plakátot terveznél, próbáld először írásban megfogalmazni a plakát üzenetét. Olvasd át újra és újra a leírtakat, és bizonyára érezni fogod, hogy vannak fölösleges

szavak, akár mondatok is a dolgozatban. Hagyd el ezeket! Újra átnézve még mindig marad kihúzható szó vagy kifejezés. Szűkíts és tömöríts! Amikor már egyetlen szóra, egyetlen betűre sem lesz szükséged, akkor vagy készen a plakáttal.” – steht auf der Webseite der Magyar Plakát Társaság (Gemeinschaft Ungarischen Plakatkünstler). www.magyarplakat.hu

29 Róbert Berény, *Fegyverbe! Fegyverbe!*, 1919. OSZK, PKT. PKG.1919/TK/20

30 Jules Abel Faivre, *On les aura!*

31 *Gebrauchsgrafik*, Berlin, 1932., zitiert von Klinger, 2010, 126.

20 Years in Emigration

Emil Delmár and the Disintegration of His Collection

Andrea Rózsavölgyi

This study – based on contemporary sources – describes the disintegration of Emil Delmár's art collection and gives a short review on its amassment, on the history of its disintegration, as well as on Emil Delmár as the collector. As mentioned in the title, this paper concentrates on the 20 years (c. 1939–1959) that Delmár spent in emigration and on the masterpieces of his medieval and modern art collection of sculptures and applied artefacts that were sent abroad. The study does not cover the artefacts that remained in Hungary during the years of emigration. Although some earlier studies¹ had already been published on this subject discussing this topic in part or entirely, some newly discovered documents and other sources I identified during my scholarship in Berne and London expanded the existing information on the disintegration of the collection and on the role of the owner, Emil Delmár in this process.

The findings of my research give a more subtle interpretation to several sources I consulted during my study such as a correspondence between Emil Delmár and C.C. Oman and the documents of the Stora Art Galleries and Schaeffer Galleries. In the paper below, a brief outline will be provided of the collection itself, of its history, of the collector, Emil Delmár and on the circumstances of collecting in Hungary in the first half of the 20th century. Although we only have a rudimentary knowledge on how the collection came into existence, the disintegration of the collection is much better documented as several files, letters and other sources shed light on the various details of the decomposition.

In Hungary, the collection of artefacts was a privilege of the wealthy high class, a narrow strata of society comprised of the historical aristocracy and the church. Only they could afford such a “vanity” as to collect on a large scale until the end of the 19th century. However, the economic boom established a new class of power and wealth: the bourgeois as a social group emerged at the turn of the 19th and 20th century. The newly rich class of the bourgeois started collecting and took over the leading role in artefact collection from the aristocracy and the church. It was not only a symbol of prosperity but a gesture of self-definition as well, insofar as collection became a means to acquire and validate a position in high society. Thus, the bourgeois regarded collecting as a primary instrument to demonstrate their similarity to the historical high class and it also served as a kind of legitimacy and expression of continuity. This is especially true of the middle and upper class citizens of Jewish origin, many among whom in-

vested heavily into high value art pieces such as Mór Lipót Herzog, the Hatvany family, Marcell Nemes (Marcel von Nemes) and Adolf Kohner. The family company owner dr. Emil Delmár (1876–1959), subject of this research paper was a typical member of this social circle.

Delmár's family was originally a seed merchant family, but later on they founded a shipping and dredging company on the Danube along with a construction business, which earned their wealth and status in the Hungarian upper-middle class or even high class. These circumstances provided the necessary background and the funds essential to cover the material costs of Delmár's growing collection of artefacts. An important factor in tracing the history of this family – a history also representative of their social circle – is their change of name. The head of the family altered the surname of his sons from Hirsch to „Delmár” in 1889. His agenda was to help his sons (Tivadar and Emil), since an easily pronounceable surname, which might as well be a real Hungarian name, was necessary for their international trips, business and lifestyle both in Hungary and abroad. As a matter of fact, the change of surname was an obvious example and act of free willed assimilation of the Jewish into Hungarian society. At the same time, it forecast the life and destiny of Emil Delmár who boasted a perfect command of several languages, had a Doctor of Law degree and began collecting around 1900 during his travel to the East.

“Emil Delmár's collection was almost equal in magnitude and quality to the Herzog and Hatvany collections. Delmár's collection of sculptures was outstanding in Hungary, in the realm of small bronzes and big statuettes of the Middle Ages” – as László Mravik states in his study.² Due to the special profile of his collection, Delmár can be regarded as an innovator among collectors. In Hungary, only a few earlier forerunners, such as Miklós Jankovich, István Marczibányi, Gábor Fejérváry, Ferenc Pulszky, István Ferenczy and the Andrássy family shared the same collecting profile as Delmár. Delmár had initially collected Oriental artefacts but he gave away most of these objects



Fig. 1. Room for Statues. Budapest, Apartment of Emil Delmár. 1930s.
Photo: Forster National Center of Cultural Heritage, Photo Collection, 93036

by 1910 due to a change in his collecting profile and started focusing on acclaimed European medieval and modern sculptures (Fig. 1.), masterpieces of applied art and he purchased a few paintings as well. This special concept prevailed as his focus in the following 25 years. It is crucial to emphasise this because these European objects could be sold abroad easily, while Hungarian pieces were difficult or even impossible to trade – therefore, at the time of their purchase profitability was certainly not Delmár's real motivation. Apart from his international collection mentioned above, some Hungarian paintings, graphics, ceramics, old furniture and Transylvanian carpets also belonged to Delmár.

During that era, the relationship between collectors and museums was sound. Delmár did not only co-operate with Hungarian and foreign museologists and art dealers, but also was on friendly terms with many of them. These friendly and trustful links would become very important later. During this period, Wilhelm von Bode exerted a major influence on Hungarian museologists like Károly Csányi by helping him shape his collection. Delmár also shared Bode's ideas and concepts about how to create and arrange a collection and this was reflected in Delmár's collecting habit as well. Delmár took an active part in the work of the Association of Art Museums' Friends and from 1926 he became the vice president of the organisation. As a member of the association with other fellow collectors he had acquired several objects of value and he also donated different art pieces to Hungarian museums. These museums organised several exhibitions from Delmár's private collection many times in Hungary and abroad as well.³ The collection's fame ensured a prominent position for Delmár in the Hungarian museum world, which helped him to establish new connections and to increase the reputation of the collection even more. Delmár's collection was famous for another reason as well, as he travelled widely and purchased his unique art pieces at high profile auctions of outstanding international collections like the Oppenheim's, Dirksen's, Figdor's, Kauffmann's, Pannwitz's, and so on. These art pieces had already been well known in the international community of scholars and museologists. Several studies were also published at that time about Delmár's spatial art collection by museologists and Delmár kept a precise account of who wrote what and when about his collection. The list of prominent scholars such as Giovanni Mariacher, Wilhelm von Bode, Georg Swarzenski, Leo Planiscig, and Simon Meller etc. were given by Delmár in his letter to the Kunstmuseum Bern.

There are many reasons for a collection to fall apart, for example, the owner might sell it due to financial problems, they might pass away giving way for an auction sale, or the collection might become a museum, too. Another probable reason of disintegration can be the donation, deposit or sale to a museum. All these solutions are the "peaceful" turns in the life of a collection. However, external, so-called "violent" events can also play an important role in the life cycle of a collection. For example, during the 20th century, the activity of the private collectors and collecting was interrupted by the major historical events and the crucial changes in both the international and Hungarian political scene: the world wars, the economic crisis and the subsequent arrival of Socialism. Many art pieces disappeared, got ruined or got stolen. Many of the remarkable private collections in Hungary fell victim to these historical circumstances, among which the Second World War and its consequences were the most devastating. These

events forced collectors to flee into exile, to give up collecting and sell their art pieces and collections or leave it as a deposit in a museum. This was especially true of the still existing collections of the aristocracy and the industrialist barons, company owners and businessmen of Jewish origin.

Although the various pieces of the former Delmár collection are not together any more as a whole, they are of great interest as many are still well documented and kept available in museums, private collections and some of them are in the possession of Delmár's heirs in Hungary and abroad. After the first "Jewish Law" was adopted in 1938, limiting the proportion of Jewish people in white collar and intellectual jobs, Delmár realised he was no longer safe in Hungary. Thanks to his good Hungarian and foreign connections he rescued a part of his collection by transporting the art pieces to Switzerland. He contacted art historians, museum directors and friends to make the process as smooth and safe as possible. Several letters, postcards, transport documents and customs forms survived proving that he conducted a conscious and systematic rescue program. By that time, Delmár was already in his sixties, but he embarked upon saving his collection with the ardour of a young man. The smaller art pieces left Hungary first, for a number of reasons. First of all, they were easy to transport, but transport was not the only obstacle, as Delmár had to make sure that the most precious objects went to a safe place. Secondly, Delmár knew very well that he would have to leave Hungary soon and he would have to make a living and ensure his existence abroad. Under such circumstances, the easily marketable and most profitable objects were rescued first, as these artefacts had to raise the interest of the museums and private art collectors of the Western world (Europe and the USA). Thirdly, the masterpieces displayed at international exhibitions had already gained reputation, and first class collectors and museums were prone to purchasing them. Finally the above mentioned, well-known art historians wrote studies about these pieces as well, which increased their fame and value. To sum up at this point, internationally known pieces were transported first as they could change ownership more easily. Delmár had started to use his social capital to transport the objects to save them from loss and then to sell them to an "appropriate" institute or collector, for an "appropriate" amount of money – this was mainly due to his financial difficulties and it also showed the value of the collection.

There was a correspondence between Emil Delmár and Charles Chichele Oman who worked for the Department of Metalwork of the V&A Museum. In 1938 Delmár wrote: „I hope you will remember me and our personal meetings and correspondence of the late years... I would like to compare my model piece with the silver basin in the possession of Earl Ilchester... The sole intention is the comparison – which would certainly interest you too – after which the basin is to be sent to the Museum in Bern, Switzerland, where I am asked to make a loan exhibition... Through the intermediary of a Hungarian lady scientist I was in correspondence with him (Earl of Ilchester) too, and I know he will be also very pleased by this proposition.”⁴ In a letter, in which the Earl Ilchester was asked to send the basin to the Museum, Oman wrote that “Dr. Delmar is a quite well-known figure in Budapest, and is in fact the President of the Hungarian National Art Collections Fund.”⁵

The Earl of Ilchester agreed to bring his ewer and basin to London for this purpose and Delmár's basin (Fig. 2.) was sent to the V&A. In July, 1938 Oman wrote to

Delmár that “Lord Ilchester invited me to come to his house this morning to see his ewer and basin...” Then, the comparison was done by Oman and he „Came to the conclusion that both pieces were by the same hand. The differences between them seemed to me to be such as might be expected when an artist sets out to improve his preliminary sketch and to carry it out in a different material... he (Lord Ilchester) told me that Paul de Lamerie had made a lot of plates for his ancestors, which strengthens the case supposing he may have been responsible for both plaque and basin.”⁶ In 1939

Delmár wrote that it had not been possible for him to go to London as “The exposition of a part of my collection opening probably in a month or so in the “Kunstmuseum” Bern, I think it would be of importance to show the Lamerie plate, too... If possible to forward the parcel... to the Kunstmuseum Bern.”⁷ Later on, in two of his studies, Delmár acknowledged C.C. Oman’s expertise and expressed his gratitude for providing information concerning three of his studies. This was not the end of their connection and correspondence: it continued in 1950, but this would be discussed in detail later in this research paper.

It is still unsure when Delmár left Hungary for good, but he had been travelling widely in Europe since 1938. He was on friendly terms with Conrad von Mandach the then director of the Kunstmuseum Bern, and their relationship developed throughout the years. Thanks to this friendship, “Emil Delmár... has given [the museum] a valuable collection of works of art on loan, which will be exhibited in [the] Museum in a separate room.”⁸ While the collection was hosted in the museum, Professor Hahnloser at the Bernese University organized a seminar for the exhibited artefacts.

Still in 1938 Emil Delmár received the export licence for 60 sculptural and applied art objects. The licence was issued by Count István Zichy the then director of the Hungarian Historical Museum and allowed the masterpieces to be sent to an exhibition in Berne.⁹ The official exhibition catalogue mentions 61 pieces and even other documents and sources prove that much more objects left Hungary. In 1939 Delmár got an export licence for other 35 pieces from Hungary. It is still uncertain what the exact number of art pieces was as the sources contradict each other and even new objects turn up from time to time.

This is the very case with the old Islamic textiles from Egypt, for example. These textiles had been on loan and exhibited in the Staatliches Kunstgewerbemuseum in Vienna but in 1938 Delmár asked Richard Ernst, the director to send them to Berne. Before the transportation Ernst mentioned in a letter that these “wonderful” textiles complemented their late antique and medieval collection very well. These textiles were purchased by Delmár probably in Egypt during a business trip in the 1930s. It is unsure when they arrived in Berne but they were certainly exhibited in 1947 under the



Fig. 2. *Dish*. Cleveland, Museum of Art. C. 1725-50. Photo: Kunst und Kunstgewerbe, Cat. 15.

working title *Altislamische Stoffe des 9-12. Jahrhunderts*. It was a real discovery to find the photocopies and the relating documents about these art pieces as they were not mentioned in Hungarian sources.

To return to the matter of exporting, all the art pieces were preserved and exhibited in the Kunstmuseum until the end of the Second World War. The export licence was continuously extended by Delmár's lawyer. In a file addressed to the Minister of Religion and Education he mentioned Delmár's high income, apartment of great value and 114 works of art which were on loan in the Hungarian Historical Museum as warranties. The value of the objects transported abroad was only a fragment of Delmár's fortune. Delmár's lawyer also mentioned two acclaimed art historians, Sándor Mihalik and Elemér Varju, who had written a letter to express their appreciation for Delmár's activity as both a historian and art historian. This also showed the good relationship Delmár had with other art professionals, which helped to extend the export licence. Thanks to this friendly relationship, Delmár could organize to leave the bigger part of his collection on loan, which was quite complicated as the museums' depositories were full of artefacts of private collectors. Finally, when there was no more demand for his art pieces, Delmár left Hungary at the end of the war or some time later. Unfortunately, plenty of documents were lost from this era, which is why we do not know what happened exactly.

Delmár left Europe in 1941 and went to Cuba first as a riverbed dredging advisor, working for the Cuban government first. Later that year, he settled in the US where he was an internee just because being a citizen of a hostile country. Later on he became a volunteer assistant of a cultural committee. „The Committee on the Protection of Cultural Treasures in War Areas of The American Committee of Learned Societies was established... in 1943. Expert scholars, art historians, collectors, and artists – the most renowned in the world – aided the committee in compiling lists and preparing maps of the most important monuments and works of art to be protected. A master index of all works in occupied countries was developed, as well as an extensive photo archive collection.” Emil Delmár volunteered for the Committee alongside with Charles de Tolnay, Sigfried Giedion, Millard Meiss, Erwin Panofsky, Lionello Venturi and many others who were called “The Monuments Men”. Delmár knew quite a few monuments of Hungary as he had taken part in special “monument tours” with his museologist friends such as Anna Zádor and Edith Hoffmann in 1938-39. Probably, he got his US citizenship for this “volunteer work” which might have helped him later to sell his artefacts.

While his collection was falling apart, Delmár started his work in the field of art history. During his emigration in the 1940–50s he wrote a book and several essays for *The Burlington Magazine*, *The Art Quarterly*, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* and so forth. He published some studies about his (former) art pieces as follows: *A Model by Paul de Lamerie*, “*The Nuptials of Peleus and Thetis*” by Danese Cattaneo, *A Venetian Embroidery of 1517*. The latter ones had been published in 1945 just before the transportation of objects to New York. It is most probable that the studies were meant to call attention to the artefacts and the collection. The *Notes on Contributors* in *The Art Quarterly* of 1947 states the following: “Emil Delmar, whose field of special study is the art of the Middle Ages and of the Renaissance, is the author of a book on Hungarian medieval

art in the collections in Switzerland, which has established his reputation as a scholar of great consciousness and acute critical sense. The same qualities are revealed in his study of "*The Nuptials of Peleus and Thetis*" by *Danese Cattaneo* which offers a solution of a problem previously discussed by such scholars as L. Planiscig, formerly Curator at the Vienna Museum of Art, and J. G. Phillips, Curator at the Metropolitan Museum of Art." After the world war, most of the artefacts were shipped from Switzerland to New York between 1945 and 1948. A bit earlier, in 1941 an accredited person had been commissioned by Delmár to deal with his estate and the artefacts on loan in the Hungarian Historical Museum. In 1947 and 1948, the museum was asked to give several pieces to the accredited person such as carpets, Coptic textiles, a papyrus, Italian Renaissance embroideries and several other, smaller works of art so these were also sent to the US – but nothing is known about their fate.

In the 20th century, and especially during and after the war, a lot of works of art and collections got to the US. The awakening desire of collecting and the subsequent collecting fever in society epitomised the status of the US as an emerging world power. The art market was huge and financially viable so it was easy to acquire works of art or entire collections for collectors and/or museums. The circumstances were different in Europe so Delmár sold his art pieces rather in the US through art dealers and galleries, notably the Raphael Stora Art Galleries and the Schaeffer Galleries. These galleries made art business and had good connections with Europe. This must have been quite beneficial for Delmár since some of his objects were still in Europe. We can only guess which art pieces Delmár kept for himself. Many objects of his collection are on sale at auction houses while some are absolutely unknown to the scholarly research. Some well-known and remarkable art pieces displayed in the *Kunst und Kunstgewerbe* exhibition are the following. The following artworks of the former Delmár's Collection are housed in reputable museums around the world.

Current location: Belvedere, Vienna

1. Artist: The Master of Heiligenkreuz
(was of French origin)

Title: *Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine*, c. 1415/20 (Fig. 3.)

Medium: Tempera on gold ground panel

Classification: Painting

Dimensions: 21,5×18,5 cm

Acquisition: sold by the Galerie Sanct Lucas, Vienna, 1995

Provenance: Delmár Emil (Budapest)

Becker Collection (Dortmund),
with Hans M. Cramer (the Hague)

German private collection



Fig. 3. The Master of Heiligenkreuz:
Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine. C. 1415/20.
Photo: Kunst und Kunstgewerbe, Cat. 45

Current location: Kunstmuseum, Berne

2. Artist: unidentified, Southern German, beginning of 16th century

Title: *Saint Bishop*

Medium: wooden, painted

Classification: Sculpture

Dimensions: 89,5 cm (height)

Acquisition: Gift of Emil Delmár, 1956

Current location: The Wallace Collection, London

3. Artist: Henry Bone, after the painting of Sir Thomas Lawrence, English

Title: *Miniature of Francis Charles Seymour-Conway, 3rd Marquis of Hertford (1772-1842)*, 1824

Medium: painted in enamel on copper, in velvet and ormolu bordered frame

Dimensions: 9,3×7 cm, 18,5×15,5 cm (with frame)

On view: Boudoir Cabinet

Acquisition: Delmár sold the miniature at Sotheby's in 1956

Provenance: Collection of Count Berchtold, Budapest

Emil Delmár, Budapest

The miniature depicts the grandfather of Sir Richard Wallace whose wife bequeathed the collection to the British nation in 1897, so it might not be a coincidence to send this piece to an auction sale held in England.

Current location: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

4. Artist: unidentified, Italian or Northern European, 15th century

Title: *Saint Christopher* (Fig. 4.), with inscription on the foot: 1407

Medium: metal (bronze)

Classification: Sculpture

Dimensions: 20,3×11×6 cm

On view: Italy 1400-1500/Renaissance - 206

Acquisition: from Emil Delmár, 1951

Provenance: István Marczibányi (Budapest)

István Rakovszky (Budapest)

Emil Delmár

It was one of the most unique pieces of the Delmár collection. It was displayed in many exhibitions worldwide as well as many scholars publishing a study on this subject, disputing about its attribution.



Fig. 4. Saint Christopher. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts. 1407.
Photo: Kunst und Kunstgewerbe, Cat. 7

5. Artist: unidentified, Augsburg

Title: *Pendant*, half-figure of Madonna and Child in high relief on crescent

Medium: metal, silver gilt

Classification: Silver

Dimensions: 5 cm (DM)

On view

Acquisition: Gift of Emil Delmár, in honour of dr. Swarzenski's 75th birthday to the museum, 1951.

Swarzenski was one of the scholars who published a study on Delmár's statue of Saint Christopher in 1929. He was the director of the art museums in Frankfurt and his field was medieval and modern art. He fled to the United States in 1938 and became the acquisitions curator of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston until 1957. So it was probably not a coincidence that the statue of Saint Christopher was acquired by the museum during his curatorship. At the same year Delmár gave the pendant as a gift so they might have known and respected each other.

Current location: Dumbarton Oaks Collection, Washington D.C.

6. Artist: unidentified, Byzantine

Title: *Virgin and Child*, Hodegetria type, second half of the 10th century (Fig. 5.)

Medium: ivory (carving)

Dimensions: 12,6×11,7 cm

Acquisition: through R. Stora and Company, New York, 1946

Current location: Indianapolis Museum of Art

7. Artist: Master of the OrléansTryptich, Limoges

Title: *Tryptich: Circumcision, Epiphany, Presentation in the Temple*, 16th century

Medium: enamel on copper, pen, ink

Dimensions: 21,2×36 cm



Fig. 5. *Virgin and Child*, Hodegetria type. Dumbarton Oaks Collection, Washington D.C. Second half of the 10th century. Photo: Kunst und Kunsngewerbe, Cat. 2

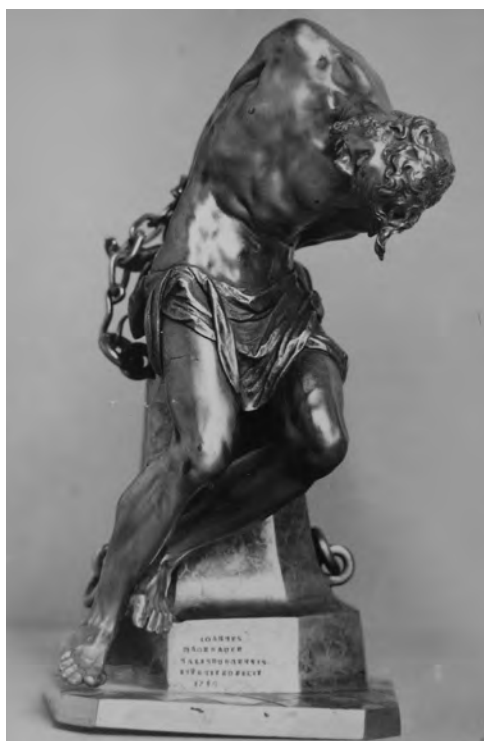


Fig. 6. Johann Baptist Hagenauer: *Christ at the Column*. Cleveland, Museum of Art. 1756. Photo: Kunst und Kunsngewerbe, Cat. 13

Current location: Museum of Art, Cleveland

8. Artist: Johann Baptist Hagenauer, Austrian

Title: *Christ at the Column*, 1756, signed: „Joannes Hagenauer Salisburgensis inventited fecit 1756” (Fig. 6.)

Medium: gilt bronze

Classification: Sculpture

Dimensions: 19,6×10,2×11,3 cm

Acquisition: through Raphael Stora and Company, New York, 1953

Delmár wrote some lines about the sculpture in a letter to William M. Milliken to the then director of the museum in 1953 as follows: „... I was very happy to know that the Hagenauer Christ on the Pillory, one of my favourite pieces, will have a lasting place in your museum, especially since such an important part of what I was able to save from my collection is now there... It is without doubt the very best work of the master, the only one he executed in gilt bronze... I am still very proud of the acquisition, for I bought it against common doubt... Since I acquired it in 1913 it was requested for every exhibition of Austrian, and even German art. I must tell you at this time a very witty remark Planiscig made about the piece. He said: the only defect of the piece is that it is fully signed and dated. Were this not so scholars would have long discussions to which of the great Italian sculptors it should be attributed...”

9. Artist: unidentified, English or German, c. 1725-50

Title: *Dish*

Medium: gilt bronze

Dimensions: 31.9×38,5

Acquisition: through Raphael Stora and Company, New York, 1955

It is the „metal plaque” mentioned above relating a correspondence between Delmár and C.C. Oman. In October 1950 Delmár wrote again to Oman the followings: „You kindly asked me some time ago to let you know whenever I „got tired of it”. Now, this not has happened yet, but in a couple of months I shall be 75 years of age, and I should think it more reasonable to dispose of my art objects myself... its rightful place would be in your museum, and in your department...” Oman replied in November to say that he considered Charles Kandler could be the artist rather than Paul de Lamerie. According to Oman „we both agreed that this museum is the proper place for your bronze dish, but he said [the director] it would be impossible for us to pay for it in dollars.” In his reply, Delmár writes „I... preferred to see my piece displayed in your museum.” Finally, probably due to „foreign currency problems” or other reasons not the V&A but the Cleveland Museum of Art purchased the dish.

10. Artist: probably by Alessandro Vittoria, Italian

Title: *Feast of the Gods*, c. 1575

Medium: bronze, dark brown patina

Classification: Sculpture, relief

Dimensions: 34,3×22,2 cm

Acquisition: through Raphael Stora and Company, New York, 1952

Provenance: István Marczibányi (Budapest)

Antal Rakovszky (Budapest)

Dr. Emil Delmár

Scholars are still arguing about the attribution formerly given by Leo Planiscig. He attributed the relief to Danese Cattaneo (Venetian, 16th century) and claimed that „... the craftsmanship of the relief in the Delmar collection is superior...” This attribution was also accepted by Delmár who also published an article on this subject.

11. Artist: Ludwig Krug, German

Title: *Adam and Eve*, 1518

Medium: brass

Classification: Sculpture, plaque

Dimensions: 12,7×10,8 cm

Acquisition: through Raphael Stora and Company, New York, 1948

Provenance: Abbey of Klosterneuburg (near Vienna)

Emil Delmár

Stora, the art dealer wrote a letter to Helen S. Foote (Cleveland Museum of Art) in which he states the following: „Mr. Milliken asked me to let you know that I am shipping to the museum two plaques: one in bronze by Ludwig Krug, signed L. K., and dated 1515, representing Adam and Eve. On the reverse is the date 1518, which is the date of the casting...” Delmár published a study on this plaque in 1950 and wrote again to C.C. Oman who had contributed an appendix to it. Apart from the four stone models, there are two pieces in the Cleveland Museum of Art which were the gifts of Emil Delmár to the museum as the silver *Scissors Etui* made in the Netherlands, c.1600 and a *Chalice Cover* (?) from Italy dated to 1587.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The Cloisters Collection

12. Artist: unidentified, probably Bohemian

Title: *Chasuble*, with two orphreys (that have now been removed), early 15th century (?) (Fig. 7.)

Medium: embroidered, silk and metallic threads on Italian velvet (chasuble) and linen, parchment and paper (orphreys)

Dimensions: 74 cm (greatest width of chasuble); 52,5×21,1 cm; 42,7×19,8 cm (orphreys)



Fig. 7. Chasuble. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters. 14th century (?). Photo: Kunst und Kunstgewerbe, Cat. 48

Acquisition: through Schaeffer Galleries, New York, 1961

There was a correspondence between Delmár, Schaeffer and Margaret Freeman, the then curator of The Cloisters, about the price of the piece. Delmár had wanted to sell it to the Museum for \$6,000 but it was acquired from the estate for much less in 1961 (as Delmár passed away in 1959).

Salton private artcollection, New York (of coins, medals and plaquettes)

13. Artist: unidentified, Nuremberg (?)

Title: *Portrait of a Patrician*, 16th century (Fig. 8.)

Medium: (oval) wax medallion in fire-gilded bronze case

Dimensions: 9,5×72 cm, 15,7×9 cm (with case)

Provenance: Spitzer Collection, Paris, 1890, V, p. 191, no. 10

Spitzer Collection, Paris, 1893, II, no. 2959, pl. LVI

Lanna Collection

Pick Collection, Budapest

Delmár Collection, Budapest



Fig. 8. Portrait of a Patrician. Salton Collection. 16th century.

Photo: Kunst und Kungsgewerbe, Cat. 42

Some other pieces were housed in US museums and sold to private collectors in the US and Europe, but little is known about them still and further investigation is required. Some sculptures of the collection, still in Berne, were sent to an auction sale at Kunsthaus Lempertz in Cologne in 1956, while some other kind of pieces were sent to Sotheby's in 1956. It is still uncertain whether they were sold or not, and who the present owner is. The only thing that can be taken for granted is that there was a high profile auction process for the Delmár pieces held at Sotheby's. Emil Delmár passed away in 1959 and executors of his will continued selling the pieces of the remaining collection. They were in correspondence with the Bernese Kunstmuseum to accomplish Delmár's will. One of the executors wrote that „you are now instructed to ship the bust of the bearded man and the two Persian bowls which you are holding in the museum to the London auction house of Sotheby and Co... we would like these objects, if possible, included in a late June catalogue...” Earlier, in 1960 the executors sent a letter to the dealer Hans Schaeffer as „... We are in the process of inventorying his [Delmár's] estate and we would greatly appreciate it if you could furnish us with a list of the property held by you for Dr. Delmar.” Schaeffer replied two days later in a letter claiming that „... We are holding for the estate of dr. Delmar: two small ivory altars..., one chasuble with embroidered orphreys, still at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and one Italian embroidery (slightly damaged)...” The research is still unfinished and a wider and deeper investigation could reveal the missing links.

It is beyond doubt that Delmár had a perfect sense for collecting. His choices and his artefacts stand the test of time. They are housed by the world's leading museums and private art collections or displayed in big exhibitions worldwide. The collection's life and the migration of objects bear the traces of the change in the structure of society and collecting and reveal the interlocks of museologists and collectors to the present day. Delmár exploited the collecting policy of the museums in the US, but instead of continuing collecting, he sold his beloved objects and made sure they find their way to a safe haven.

Notes

- 1 My earlier articles about Emil Delmár: Andrea RÓZSAVÖLGYI, "Delmár Emil műgyűjtő művészettörténeti kapcsolatai," (The Private Collector Emil Delmár's Connection with Art History) in *Ars Perennis*, ed. Anna Tüskés (Budapest: CentrArt, 2010), 177–181.; Andrea RÓZSAVÖLGYI, "Delmár Emil magángyűjteménye svájci források tükrében," (Delmar Emil's Private Collection According to Swiss Sources) *Lymbus* 7 (2009): 221–230.; Andrea RÓZSAVÖLGYI, "A Delmár-gyűjtemény felbomlása," (The Disintegration of the Delmar Collection) *Lymbus* 8 (2010): 271–282.
- 2 László Mravik, "Budapest műgyűjteményei a két világháború között" (Art Collections in Budapest Between the World Wars), *Budapesti Negyed* 32–33 (2001) Nr. 2–3: 176.
- 3 *A Szent György céh kisplasztikai kiállítása (Exhibition of Small Sculptures organized by the St. George Guild)*, ed. Jenő Radisics (Budapest, 1912); *Budapesti gyűjtők és művészek érem- és plakettkiállítása (Exhibition of Medals and Plaquettes in Private Ownership and Museums)*, ed. Károly Csányi (Budapest, 1924); *Régi olasz mesterek kiállítása: képek, szobrok magyar magángyűjteményekből 1937–38 (Exhibition of Old Italian Masters. Paintings and Sculptures in Hungarian Private Ownership)*, ed. Elek Petrovics (Budapest: Nemzeti Szalon, 1937); *Kleinkunst der italienischen Renaissance* (Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum, 1936); *Exposition d'Art autrichien*, ed. Alfred Stix (Paris: Musée du Jeu de Paume de Tuileries, 1937).
- 4 V&A Museum Registry, Nominal File, MA/I/D850, Delmár Dr. Emil, 1938.
- 5 V&A Museum Registry, Nominal File, MA/I/D850, Delmár Dr. Emil, 1938.
- 6 V&A Museum Registry, Nominal File, MA/I/D850, Delmár Dr. Emil, 1938.
- 7 V&A Museum Registry, Nominal File, MA/I/D850, Delmár Dr. Emil, 1938.
- 8 Kunstmuseum Bern, Registry. Ausstellung Sammlung Dr. Delmar Budapest, 1939/1940. File.
- 9 *Kunst und Kunstgewerbe. Sonderausstellung 1939/40*. Kunstmuseum Bern, ed. Conrad von Mandach.

Ferenc Martyn and the Parisian Abstract Art

Flóra Mészáros

In the 1930s an association of abstract art called *Abstraction-Création* (1931–1936) was formed in Paris to unite the different abstract art tendencies and artists and to provide a forum for non-figurative art. Among the followers of organic abstraction in *Abstraction-Création* there is an “unknown” Hungarian artist, Ferenc Martyn (1899–1986), who arrived in Paris in 1926. He lived in the French capital for 13 years and became a member of the forum in 1934. He was the only Hungarian from the association who returned to his home country at the beginning of World War II and preserved the heritage of *Abstraction-Création*. As one of the founders of the Hungarian *Európai iskola* (European School), he disseminated the abstract tradition that he had discovered in the Paris group, and became a model for numerous contemporary artists in his native Hungary. This carried on to the later surrealist phase in his career at about 1936, which could also be considered a very exciting period in the history of the movement. In the analysis and research of Ferenc Martyn’s oeuvre, the most important addition is to study his artistic activity in Paris, especially the period in *Abstraction-Création*. Through the case study of Ferenc Martyn’s inspirations and artistic development, this study casts light on the characteristics and effects of the Parisian *Abstraction-Création* movement in France as well. In this essay, I would like to reveal new findings pertaining to the relation between Ferenc Martyn and *Abstraction-Création* which I have researched for 5 years, including half a year of fieldwork in Paris in 2009.

Ferenc Martyn’s monographer, Éva Hárs has almost presented Martyn’s complete work but in her writings Martyn’s Parisian period appears to be marginalised by focusing on his activities in Hungary.¹ Hárs has published of Martyn’s Parisian letters, written in Hungarian to his Hungarian friend Lajos Török, the director of *Pécsi Képzőművészek Társasága* (Fine Artists’ Organisation of Pécs).² However, 30 years have passed since this publication and Martyn’s work in Paris clearly needs to be re-examined due to the gap in research about the Parisian period. This examination is not only useful for the evaluation of external influences in Martyn’s career and their repercussions with Martyn’s followers, but it is also an addition to the research on *Abstraction-Création*. Gladys Fabre published the first summary (catalogue) about the group in 1978, which has become the most fundamental research on *Abstraction-Création*, still relevant to this day.³ She emphasized the significance of foreign artists and their groups, especially that of Central Europeans. Since then, research on the individual artists within the group

has been the most prolific means of enriching the existing research on Abstraction-Creation.

In the second half of the 1920s, there were a lot of abstract artists who spent some time in Paris, or settled down in the French capital; moreover, many famous abstract painters had already been based there, such as Piet Mondrian, who arrived in the city in 1919. Paris provided several opportunities to this group to showcase their talent. It were primarily galleries, such as Léonce Rosenberg's *Galerie de L'Effort Moderne* (Gallery of Modern Efforts), which popularised the tendencies in abstract art. The gallery was founded by the art dealer at the end of World War I, so it was a powerful and representative early agent in promoting modern trends. Rosenberg did not only offer individual exhibitions for non-figurative artists, like Georges Valmier (1921, 1927), but he also organized collective shows for groups, as in the case of *De Stijl* (1923). He started a periodical publication as well, which bore the same name as the gallery. A further pioneer of modernist efforts in art was the Polish painter Victor-Yanaga Poznanski. In 1925 he organized the first large international avant-garde exhibition titled *L'Art d' Aujourd'hui* (Today's Art), bringing non-figurative artists into the limelight. Some Hungarian participants were featured at this exhibition, such as László Moholy-Nagy, József Csáky, Vilmos Huszár, Alfréd Réth and Lajos Tihanyi. The event provided an important opportunity for Central European artists to introduce their art. The 'Hungarian abstract artists' also had numerous individual shows (Étienne Beöthy in Galerie Rosenberg in 1930; József Csáky in Galerie Bonaparte in 1930). Besides exhibitions, the non-figurative art scene in Paris at the time was also enriched by the appearance of formal groups, which were defining themselves through different approaches to abstraction. In 1930, Michel Seuphor and Joaquin Torres-Garcia led the *Cercle et Carré* (Circle and Square) group, while Theo Van Doesburg created *Art Concret* (Concrete Art). One of the common principles of both was to step up against the stronger, well-organized current of Surrealism and to assume a power position in avant-garde art. The group of *Cercle et Carré* declared themselves to be followers of Neoplasticism. However, participants of the forum interpreted their work in a much wider sense, considering that for example Post cubism or Futurism coexisted with Constructivism in the group. *Art Concret* highlighted this eclectic profile when they criticised *Cercle et Carré* for their lack of accurate self-definition. Theo van Doesburg and his group introduced the idea of purely geometric abstraction and rejected the symbolic content.⁴ However, Van Doesburg's unexpected death and the financial problems of Mondrian's forum broke up their plans. Ironically, the end of both organizations brought about the fulfilment of their vision, and thus the birth of a new movement, the Abstraction-Création, which operated successfully for five years despite the fact that it was never promoted officially.

The group, titled "Abstraction-Création: Art non figurative," was founded on the 15th February 1931 in Paris by Auguste Herbin, Georges Vantongerloo, Hans Arp, Albert Gleizes, Jean Hélion, George Valmier, František Kupka, Robert Delaunay and Léon Tundjian. The forum had more than 40 official and 200 corresponding members over the years, including Wassily Kandinsky, Naum Gabo and Alexander Calder. Among the Hungarians, Ferenc Martyn, Laszlo Moholy-Nagy, Étienne Beöthy, Alfred Reth and Lajos Tihanyi joined the group. The society operated for five years, until 1936 (it eventually dissolved due to financial problems and theoretical debates about the principles

of abstract art).⁵ To provide a special forum for non-figurative art, they organised individual and collective exhibitions, published a review discussing theories of abstract art, and circulated photos of their artists' works. The forum offered opportunities for its members to discuss the problems of non-figurative art by expos and visiting others' studios, to name a few.⁶ The shared platform ensuring group cohesion was their non-figurative approach, which was the only condition of participating in the group. There were, however, two distinctive approaches to realising non-figurative works of art. On the one hand, the organization saw itself as a groundbreaking representative of abstraction, "because certain artists arrive at the idea of non-figuration through progressive abstraction of the forms of nature."⁷ On the other hand, some artists actually continued the ideas and principles of Art Concret, of Neoplasticism and of Van Doesburg's Elementarism. They worked in the spirit of creation: "others arrive at non-figuration indirectly, through the concept of a purely geometrical system or by the exclusive use of elements commonly called abstracts: circles, planes, diagonals, lines, etc."⁸ The above two principles did not collide with each other because both claimed that the artistic creation could exist by itself, so it did not have to imitate a concrete subject. The first group of artists believed that non-figurative forms had to symbolise and contain the meaning of the cosmic and organic nature of the world. In the movement of Abstraction-Création this idea, which could be labelled as organic abstraction, took priority over the latter. As Gladys Fabre noticed: "For the French avant-garde the winding lines, the curves and the spirals meant the other possibility to free the Cubist world and to create something original against the geometric abstraction."⁹

Ferenc Martyn was among the followers of organic abstraction. Before his 1926 arrival in Paris, his work evoked the imagery of his master, József Rippl-Rónai, who had also studied in Paris. Thus Martyn received Rippl-Rónai's method of art, such as the fundamentals of image composition and his synthesizing thinking based on structural principles.¹⁰ Martyn eventually headed to Paris because of the French spirit of his childhood near Rippl-Rónai¹¹ as well as his deteriorating relationship with his master.¹² (This relationship suffered due to the personal and artistic conflicts between Martyn and Rippl-Rónai). Martyn's Parisian art initially resisted the influence of modern French painting in favour of the traditional genres and techniques. Around 1928, Martyn discovered Giorgio de Chirico's metaphysical painting and surrealist works that had a decisive influence on him, apparent in subsequent still-lives. The artist discovered Surrealism through René Magritte's work, a major influence both generally and in the following features specifically: his compositional solutions, „double up attempt" and dramatic spaces. The method of surrealist treatment of space in Martyn's art, such as the representation of floating objects can be derived from this influence. Between 1929 and 1930, Martyn was influenced by Bauhaus, Oskar Schlemmer's art and Renaissance architecture, and he started to model non-figurative forms. In 1933, he began to create non-figurative drawings combined with surrealist treatment of space.

In 1934 he joined the Abstraction-Création movement as an unknown abstract artist, presumably on the recommendation of his Hungarian friend, Étienne Beöthy. The already famous abstract artist was a regular participant in the group, whereas Martyn needed endorsement since he did not have an expansive non-figurative oeuvre. Étienne Beöthy was the secretary of the society and his dominant role in the organisa-

tion could help Martyn. Presumably, Beöthy introduced Martyn to Herbin at a café bar of Montparnasse as both frequented the same place.¹³

Before getting involved with the activities of the Abstraction-Création movement in 1933, Martyn's works showed very little abstraction, only in some graphics. The pieces that supported his initiation into the group could be the 30 abstract red chalk drawings from 1933.¹⁴ These are autonomous compositions, even though they seem similar to sketches as he used his traditional sketching techniques. Martyn reduced motivic objects of his prominent paintings to a linear structure. Some of these artworks clearly reveal the inspiration, like *Homage*; in other cases, only the thickest lines of the subjects, such as outlines of the figure refer to the original theme, like *Above the water*. Martyn drew building constructions and ports, like in *Colliure* (Fig. 1). In these cases, he designed several identifiable elements, including the harbour and the lighthouse balustrade. The city and port images are closer to abstraction, because he evoked the formal characteristics of buildings, the strictly constructed structure. There are some drawings in which the artist seceded from concrete elements and revealed nature related phenomena, such as fluctuation and waves in the sea. He used calligraphic drawing,¹⁵ as in *Rhythm of line* or in *Swimming lines* (Fig. 2). In these examples he reached total non-figuration. He depicted expressive, dynamic rhythms of lines, which fill the whole composition. He adopted the special surrealist method of use of space, so lines seem to levitate in empty space. Examples of this method resonate with

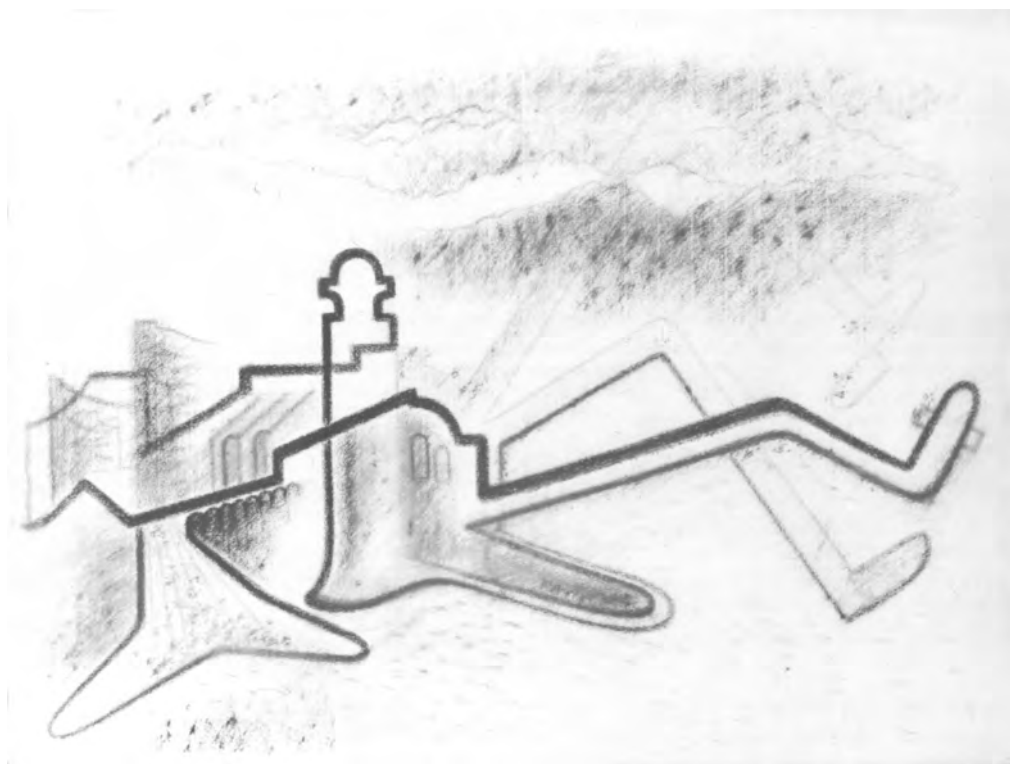


Fig. 1. Ferenc Martyn: *Colliure*. Budapest, Private Property. Red chalk, bistre, paper. 620x810 mm. 1933. Körmendi Gallery's photo

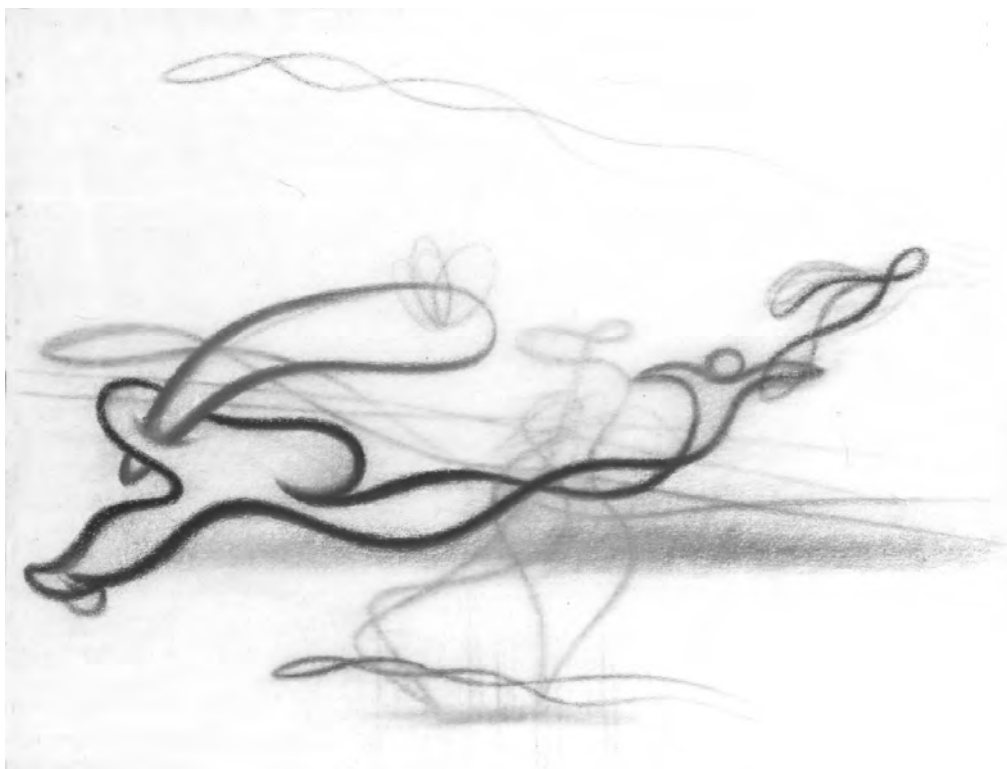


Fig. 2. Ferenc Martyn: *Swimming lines*. Budapest, Private Property. Red chalk, bister, paper. 620×810 mm. 1933. Körmendi Gallery's photo

organic abstraction, particularly pieces created by Pablo Picasso, and artists of the Abstraction-Création movement, like Alexander Calder, or Auguste Herbin. But most of them were affected by Picasso's simultaneous calligraphic character paintings from 1928-1932, like *Pitcher and Fruit* (1930), or *Mirror* (1932). Martyn mentioned in his letters that Picasso was of great influence on his art because of his large retrospective exhibition in Paris in 1932.¹⁶

So the mostly abstract red chalk drawings like *Rhythm of Line* or *Swimming Lines* (Fig. 2) could be the material he showed Herbin and the board of directors, which satisfied the requirements of organic abstraction. In 1934 Martyn joined the *Abstraction-Création* movement as he mentioned to Lajos Török.¹⁷ However, neither in this message nor in any other letter did he clarify why and how he became a member of the group, therefore it is safe to assume it happened as described above. Martyn's intentions to join the group may have been twofold. Firstly, of course, his artistic attitude changed and the continuation, as well as the completion of his new artistic ways could be achieved through *Abstraction-Création*. Secondly, his living conditions and ideas changed as well, as he explained fully in his letters at the end of 1933.¹⁸ Martyn wanted to spend a longer time in France, so he re-evaluated his previous work and his goals for the future. He was making greater plans – he found out the same year that one of his ancestors was an Irish king, therefore he intended to live up to his family's reputation.¹⁹

Consequently, he dreamed of organising his own large-scale retrospective exhibitions, as well as minor expos. He considered various other forms of communication (more lectures and publications) too.²⁰ He believed that becoming part of the group would offer valuable opportunities to realise his vast artistic vision. In the 20s and 30s it was difficult indeed to be a foreign start-up artist in the xenophobic world of Paris, as Martyn also alluded to in most of his writings. In contrast, Abstraction-Création provided a new perspective, taking in emigrants and other young foreign artists. Although in the second issue of the organisation's journal, the group declared that they distanced themselves from commercial intentions and political manifestations,²¹ it was obvious and rare that the forum made a conscious effort to gather famous immigrant non-figurative painters, and it was open to young entrants, too. This way, Martyn managed to overcome the problem of connecting with the artistic world of Paris and that of earning a living in the city. Martyn initially saw a potential for opportunities to showcase his art in the Abstraction-Creation movement; he hoped that he could achieve his exhibition through the organisation. One of his first letters, where he mentioned Abstraction-Création, explains his previously analysed and discussed plans and purposes: "If there were no obstacles, I could exhibit my works for weeks in the new gallery, called 'Abstraction-Création,' which is considered here to be the future of the entire European art scene. This is a group of international profile with about 80 members, of which only 12 are French. Among the Hungarians, the sculptor Étienne Beöthy plays a significant role there, and there are a few more Hungarians, for example Tihanyi. I am a new member. Here, in this gallery, I would like to realise my collective exhibition, which of course would be at a later date."²² It sounds like a very ambitious, even excessive statement. Nevertheless, in Martyn's career the group had a very important role to establish and promote the principles of organic abstraction. Before we discuss that issue, we should analyse his whole activity in the group through the chronological review of his works.

The starting point of Martyn's nonfigurative art was studying natural landscape and he abstracted these recorded experiences into a new visual reality. The painter was interested in experiencing the landscape during his phase at Abstraction-Création, and therefore he returned to the source of his painting, the importance of nature-based work that he learnt from his master, the Hungarian painter József Rippl-Rónai. This provided the base of his abstract pieces later, about which he noted: "Abstraction is based on nature-based work, only those can paint an abstract picture who have studied nature thoroughly, who can model a 'natural' landscape or figure at any time."²³

Before his entering the group, his non-figurative drawings show the object of their abstraction; these are the early works inspired by landscape. Almost all of the images are in connection with the sea; scenes that take place at sea, or ships, water-fronts, ports, etc.²⁴ He focused on an object, concentrated on one element and created central-iconic pieces, like in the *Ship* (Fig. 3). He returned to making red chalk drawings as in 1933. The composition of the *Ship* is built on abstract forms, solely on the distortions of the triangle shape. Martyn rubbed and smeared red chalk, and created surfaces of varying intensity on the paper. However, the sharp chalk lines have a different role than in the past, they do not serve to reduce the concrete elements to abstract ones, their function is rather to contour lines of the abstract, rubbed components. He sometimes used black coloured bister chalk, which is in contrast with the white paper

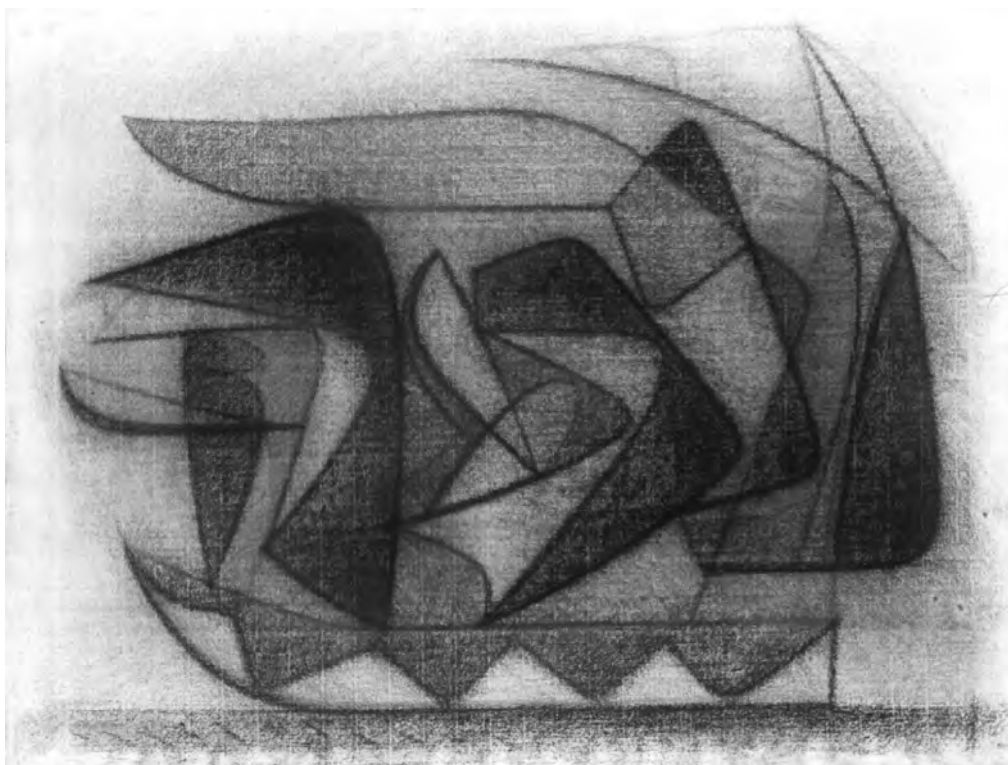


Fig. 3. Ferenc Martyn: *Ship*. Budapest, Private Property. Red chalk, bister, paper. 620x810 mm. 1933. Körmendi Gallery's photo

background and the lighter tones of the other elements. So the composition becomes three-dimensional by means of varied, rubbed surfaces and by bister. In the center of the image field there are three uniform triangles, which are rotated along an imaginary spiral, so these become the curved body of a sail. He definitely preferred using meandering lines, which lends dynamics to his pictures, as in the *Ship*. The busy centre of the image is surrounded by a bastion-like frame made up of huge, pure, plain geometric shapes. Direct, straight lining dominates against the curved lines of the central part in this framed structure, and the result is a tranquil and static composition. This way the rigorous, angular frame and its static nature dissolve and cancel the centre's dynamic tensions and effects completely.

The *Ship* has a version in oil as well that was probably created after the drawing. Martyn had completed an artistic program by the end of 1934, which led him to change the technique, and he concentrated on oil paintings and graphics.²⁵ During his years in Paris, especially during his non-figurative period he could be characterised as someone consciously designing his images, using sketches and making variations. Occasionally, he prepared several variations of the same theme, so with the same schematic composition and with alternative techniques he realised a variety of his artistic visions. Consequently, he achieved different solutions of form and content. In the oil version of the *Ship*, by changing the technique, he could create diverse, powerful coloured

surfaces, which yield a much more three-dimensional effect and sense of depth than in the previously discussed drawing. The image-conscious design suggests that he left behind “the technique of painting all at a time” permanently, which he had learned from his master, Rippl-Rónai in Hungary. In an early period of his abstract artistic activity, he sought to fill the image space completely and to create rhythm between the components by means of curved shapes, lines and spiral-rotated elements. All of these principles complied with those represented by artists advocating organic abstraction in the organisation.

In the first year of his activity in the group, he created *Riding* (red chalk drawing) and the *Maritime Memory* (oil painting), which were later published in the fifth issue of the journal of Abstraction-Création in 1936 (unfortunately, these pictures have disappeared). But they had been painted earlier, in 1934, as Martyn declared in one of his letters dated December 1934.²⁶ He mentioned that the board of directors at the organisation had selected those two pictures to be published in the next issue of their journal.²⁷ In his works we can see blank space divided by a horizon. But the central form, a curved shape becomes the emphatic, focal element of these images. This curved form is floating towards the left side of the picture; it is undulating in “vacuum”, which is the artist’s way of bringing it into movement. There are numerous small, curvilinear shapes in the centre, with their contour lines running into each other. This floating movement is dominant, as is the harmonious, homogeneous background and colouring. Here Martyn experimented with creating a sense of motion by applying calligraphic lines and spiral forms in various techniques (chalk drawing, oil painting). During his surrealist-metaphysical period (before joining the group) at around 1930, he also focused on the same artistic problem, directing his attention to complex compositions and exciting form combinations which illustrate motion in diverse, intriguing ways. These works could compare to some of the images of Abstraction-Création, like Auguste Herbin’s abstract compositions (see *Composition*, 1932), Enrico Prampolini’s compositions, or Robert Delaunay’s and Alfred Réth’s colour experiments, since these artists made similar efforts as Martyn.

Martyn’s piece entitled *Composition* (Fig. 4) (around 1935) reveals his goal to create rhythm in his pictures, also reminiscent of the role of the curved, meandering line in his abstract approach in Paris. *Composition* is a large, horizontally positioned oil painting inspired by coastal experiences, so it appears Martyn still continued the naval theme. The shapes are arranged along an oval composition and they fill almost the entire image field. The contour lines of each form also run into each other as in the previous pictures. Therefore the different shapes are shown in multiple overlapping layers, where each form can be distinguished by its colours only. For example a white, wedge-shaped formation starting from the right corner of the composition can be seen as itself, but the outline of the shape can also be drawn out further. In doing so, the shape continues to the left in the yellow and then red coloured surface, which is a different shape, a part of the serrated curved, tree-shaped geometrical structure. Thus the whole picture has several possible interpretations, lending Martyn’s analytical and constructive method the potential to create an exciting play with form throughout. As for origins, he may have discovered this artistic experiment primarily through Robert Delaunay’s work. Delaunay was fascinated by how the interaction of colours produced sensations of depth, rhythm and movement. The work of the 19th century



Fig. 4. Ferenc Martyn: *Composition*. Budapest, Private Property. Oil on canvas. 97×196 cm. 1935. Körmendi Gallery's photo

scientist, Michel-Eugène Chevreul (1786–1889) was hugely influential on Delaunay's art, even more so as he had taken over Chevreul's concept of simultaneous contrast.²⁸ Between 1912 and 1914 Delaunay started making colour transitions by painting curving lines and circular shapes. Around 1930 when he joined Abstraction-Creation, he tried experimenting specifically with how the curved lining produced colour and form transitions (*Circular Shapes*, 1930).²⁹ His later attempts focused more on forms than on the relations between colours. Alfred Reth, a Hungarian acquaintance of Martyn's also pursued this method in his *Rhythms* series and in other contemporary pieces (*Composition*, 1935), and his inspiration may have been Delaunay's work and his light and colour theory.³⁰ During Delaunay's, Réth's and Martyn's experiments, all three have been interested in creating formal transitions and various colour-zones by curved, meandering, sinuous lines. In other words, they used different clean, bright colours and tones, colour contrasts and complementary colour pairs assigned to each other and placed them along a spiral shape, which resulted in a rhythm and motion effect. Delaunay and Réth's primary goal was to play an exciting and scientific game with colours and tones. However, Martyn used this imaging tool for different purposes. He was intrigued by experiments with form, and considered colour as a tool of secondary importance. For example, in *Composition*, he only pays sporadic attention to colour. Compared to other artists of Abstraction-Création, he did not always see the interactions between colours directly. One of the few exceptions is when he validated the contrast of complementary colour pairs: blue and orange, yellow and purple contrasts on the left side of the picture, and with this he created the most vivid and vibrant part of the painting. In other instances he ensured the contrast of the tones such as red-black, blue-white, yellow-white, as did Réth. Martyn, however, mainly focused on formal experiments, increasing complexity by the use of colour transitions.

In this picture Martyn maximised the role of a curved line. In the present composition the spiral lining links each element of the image with each other, not only by transi-

tions and analytical constructions as seen in the paragraph above, but also by repeating the same curved-line shapes such as the recognisable sail-shape on the left side and in the centre. Consequently, it could be emphasized that each item related to the sea or nature (visible vessels, waterside tree shapes) is formally connected through spiral lines, suggesting that in nature all objects are based on the same common elements of form, such as spiral lines. This idea was a dominant preoccupation in Abstraction-Création. In the late 1920s in Paris Alexander Calder had already highlighted the same problem, when he created calligraphic, figurative wire sculptures by means of meandering lines. The American artist treated wire as a three-dimensional drawing tool, and he placed the wire sculptures in front of a white wall in strong light. As a result, they existed as a sculpture in real space, while functioning “as Graphics”, their moving shadows created dynamics against the wall. Calder maximized the laws of physics with his hand-held *mobiles*, which were created during the Abstraction-Création period. Due to this innovation circular objects (made of wire and metals) started appearing as well. Calder’s words explain what the spiral form and circular shape meant to him: “I think I am a realist. I think the universe is real but we cannot see it. You have to imagine it. Then you can be realistic in reproducing it. (...) The fundamental importance of form in my work is the system of the Universe, or a part thereof (...) the simplest and most obvious shapes in the world are the circle and the sphere (...) Those are the ones I am interested in; colour is only of secondary importance in my work.”³¹ In the first issue of Abstraction-Création’s journal Robert Delaunay said: „the stirring, circular mode of expression is the most specific formulation of the human dynamism.”³² „The radius of the circle and the sphere can be followed from the lines of iron all the way through lead (...) A single line is microscopic, the individual’s microscopic measure, which is mostly embodied in architecture. Painting, however, must express the universal feeling, the movement... The single line embodies the connection, the expression of measure, which is collective and universal.”³³

We emphasised that in Martyn’s work discussed above, inspiration by nature took precedence, which is further underpinned by the fact that all elements connect with each other through a curved line as in nature. The significance of this principle in Martyn’s work is the underlining of the collective, universal role of curved lines and spiral forms as in Herbin’s work. Martyn otherwise also concentrated on colours and built on meandering lines similarly to Calder, and he wished to create rhythm and dynamism through this form, as did Delaunay. Therefore it can be concluded that his principles, ideas and method were in agreement with the theories and manner of organic abstraction within the group. From Ferenc Martyn’s letters we know that he presented his first works to some members of the organisation and he tried to network and keep in touch with the artists of Abstraction-Création, like the previously discussed Herbin or Delaunay: “Here I am in the middle of great work, but Delaunay, Vantongerloo, Clouston, Herbin visited me recently; there is a great interest.” Martyn’s similar interests and diverse knowledge of the French language³⁴ made it easy for him to fully take part in the group. Based on his letters and the frequent mentioning of certain people, he may have visited Beöthy’s and Tihanyi’s groups, which also contained some other organic abstract artists. But he equally could have had relations with Herbin, the director of the organisation and the spiritual father of the idea of *abstraction*, because Martyn frequently referred to this connection: “Yesterday Herbin, the painter enthusiastically

praised me; he, who always dismisses some people in a terrible manner in a matter of minutes. He was done with Klee only in two minutes, and I confess his logic is hardly arguable.”³⁵ However, it is unlikely that Herbin had a strong connection with Martyn. He rather paid attention to all visitors only and followed the works of the group members,³⁶ and this is the reason why Martyn mentioned him so many times. Nevertheless, his stylistic influence on Martyn is evident. We can conclude that Martyn was close to organic abstraction, one of the currents of Abstraction-Création, with his creative solutions, compositional methods and artistic intentions, and he also promoted the important role of the universal content of pictures.

The works discussed above, such as the watercolour series *Sail* (1934), the *Ship* (1933/1934), the *Riding* (1934), the *Maritime Memory* (1934), the *Composition* (1935), as representative pieces of his first period in Abstraction-Création, illustrate that he carried through his point on constructive thinking more than ever. He also noted a few years later: “Structure is the basic nature and vehicle of all artistic will and creative power. Along the lines of composition, we may follow the true history of all mankind.”³⁷ It is worth noting that his master, Rippl-Rónai had underlined the significance and important role of structural thinking of nature before, as Martyn mentioned: “In the summer of 1914, before he left Paris, he talked about how difficult it was to draw a tree. Because the tree is a so-called symbol: often it has such deep roots and it clings to the ground and reaches for the sky. And it is a structure. However, not only this must be followed (...), but also how it works, how its metabolism works, and what happens within its trunk, from spring blossoms to autumn leaves.”³⁸ It appears his master clearly directed his attention to observing every single process of nature. This method became, as we noted, Martyn’s source of nature-based abstraction, but it also compelled him to have an eye on everything when designing and creating a picture. He emphasized that every detail has the same important function and relevance to the image just like in nature. Martyn examined nature, especially coastal landscapes very consciously and he constructed his images with much awareness. This is the reason why he chose to fill the whole image space. He made connections by lining, creating rhythm, repeating the same form, colour-transitions and tension. Every detail and structural unit got the same emphasis. He had thought the entire composition over in advance. He used static and dynamic elements proportionately such as vacuum and busy spaces in his abstract pictures, until these components dissolved each other to make way to a coherent, unified work. He often attempted a surrealist treatment of space, the creation of a floating, moving sensation, which synthesizes the whole picture. The sources of the uniqueness and cohesion of his images are these structural solutions.

We can say that during his time with Abstraction-Création Martyn reinforced constructive thinking, which he had acquired previously while working with Rippl-Rónai and then practised during his Parisian years. He may have chosen to join the Abstraction-Création movement because he believed it would confirm his artistic vision. Among the members of Abstraction-Création there were a lot of artists, including Auguste Herbin or Enrico Prampolini, who also relied on the constructive design of the artistic process.

During his second period of involvement with Abstraction-Création, he often started to combine recognisable concrete elements and nonfigurative motives, like in

another *Composition* (1935, Hungarian National Gallery). This was not unusual within the group; for example some acquaintances of Martyn's such as Henri-Jean Closon or Auguste Herbin also attempted it. Furthermore, the artistic pattern of Auguste Herbin also had an influence on Martyn's work. The "birdhuman" motif of Martyn's previously noted *Composition* (in the Hungarian National Gallery) originated from Herbin's oil painting at around 1930, when he himself made several compositions called *Birdhuman*. Both show a mix of figurative and non-figurative components in portraying a human form pre-flight, which is actually an abstract shape made by calligraphic lining.

Martyn continued to work on the synthesis of non-figurative and figurative art, as the *Composition with fish and birds* (Fig. 5) represents. The large horizontally formatted oil painting was made in 1936 when Martyn conceived a lot of huge oil paintings with a coastal and bird theme. The picture shows irregular geometric forms such as nature-related motives of birds, ships, fish, which appear in front of a neutral, homogeneous background. The layout of the composition is diversified; it fills the whole space of the image. Martyn also used his typical formal solutions, the rotation of the same forms, the transitions, overlaps, or the flat, one-dimensional horizon in the background. Furthermore, his analytical method, as we noted in relation to his form-colour transitions in *Composition* (1935) which one in a private collection, adds a new feature. The new solution is represented for example in the image of the recognisable couple of birds (triangle shapes) on the right side of the picture. The artist apportions these forms with structural lines. However, these are not visible contour lines but only added by the layered construction of forms, which results in large surfaces of various colours. In this case, the interaction between these coloured surfaces plays the leading role in the composition. He apparently applied the colour-centred technique of Delaunay by



Fig. 5. Ferenc Martyn: *Composition with fish and birds*. Budapest, Private Property. Oil on canvas. 114×195,5 cm. 1936. Körmendi Gallery's photo

placing pure complementary colours next to each other resulting in a vibrant, cheerful effect.

Martyn tried a new solution in the design of space as well. He, as usual, compartmentalises the image into two separate areas, marked by the horizon on the lower half of the painting. However, he does not attach the objects to the horizon so they appear as floating, moving forms at different points in the surrealist space. This element of his solution is not particularly new because he used this method in his surrealist painting around 1928–1930, which was influenced by René Magritte, who also “floated”, and “brought into motion” the objects of his images. However, here Martyn underlined the horizon with a strip of yellow coming into view over it. It is a light-toned but vibrant colour, which darkens progressively so the basic tone of the background moves from dark green to black. Consequently, the horizon appears as a beam of light in the darkened space. This same technique of creating space dominates in Giorgio de Chirico’s oil paintings between 1917–1918, in which the artist designed mannequins, maps and allegorical scenes. Chirico depicted the visible, far sky, similarly to how Martyn might like to show it. But Martyn’s imagination is complex, attempting to design double natural visions of the sky and the sea. We can come to the same conclusion from the title of the piece as well. The discussed solution intensifies the scenic and dreamy features, the unreal, locked atmosphere in Chirico’s pictures. Although Martyn only adopted the formal solution of Chirico’s shaping of space, the result is similar. The background seems endless and the depth of field is not perceived through the unifying effect of dark colours and horizon. The dynamic, strong coloured forms, which appear in different planes and seem to be levitating, intensify the sense of infinity. Martyn in this latter method was returning to his roots of 1933, when he produced his first non-figurative drawing with the same space arrangements that he had known from Yves Tanguy’s paintings.³⁹ All this shows that Martyn was not able to free himself of the influence of Surrealism, which he was especially connected to in the late 20s, when he designed dream-or-memory images symbolising his first visions, dreams or experiences of nature. Therefore his themes related to the sea, as *Composition with birds and fish* (1936) could be interpreted as his memories of water-related experiences, or any archetype that his mind automatically associates with nature and sea.

Ferenc Martyn definitely rediscovered the surrealist imaging and way of thinking in 1936, and combined it with abstraction although we have to note that during his first membership in Abstraction-Creation he was already attracted to this trend. But it became predominant at around 1936, during the time when abstract-surrealist trends developed and strengthened within the Abstraction-Création movement. Abstraction-Creation proved to be more tolerant with Surrealism than the Art Concret or the Cercle et Carre, which both rebelled against its figurative artistic view and its popularity. Moreover, some new research connects Surrealism and Abstraction-Création entirely. Anna Moszynska sees the works of André Breton’s and Auguste Herbin’s groups in parallel because they both had a specific, well-defined program, special selection criteria for prospective members (automatic writing/non-figuration), and both were a loose organisation.⁴⁰ This new approach could answer the question why Abstraction-Création appeared to be more accepting with Surrealism than previous, non-figurative unions.

Returning to our remarks, there were two surrealist-abstract lines in the organisation at around 1936. First, there was a line of the creators who became members of the company as identifiable surrealist artists, or were associated with the surrealist group.⁴¹ These artists, like Léon Tutundjian, Arshile Gorky and others were invited by Abstraction-Création. The outstanding examples could be Hans Arp and Joan Miró, but Hans Arp was the only official member of a surrealist forum who represented himself in Abstraction-Création.⁴² On the other hand, the second line of abstract-surrealists discovered Surrealism themselves (Calder, Prampolini, Herbin, etc), particularly Enrico Prampolini (*Angels Land*, 1936).⁴³ In their state of abstraction there is the recognition of their subconscious projection, and they also experimented with a surrealist type of use of space. Martyn could be the only example who could be connected to both directions. Around 1936, he created great, unique and original oil paintings, which shows us that during this period he was an integral part of the artistic era.

Martyn could very well have been just one of the myriad other members of the group, but his last year in the organisation was very successful. He had the opportunity to publish two of his pictures in the forum's journal. The critic, Anatole Jakowski mentioned him in his presentation along with such names as Picasso or Mondrian.⁴⁴ This was the year when he brought new, exciting non-figurative results into the history of the group. Following the termination of the group, between 1937–1939 he started to create in the spirit of geometric abstraction, paintings characterised by clear geometric forms.

To summarise the findings of research and the contribution of this study, the artistic development of Martyn is as follows. At the beginning of his membership in Abstraction-Creation, he combined the previously learned methods with new construction manners; he continued to fulfil his constructive, structural way of thinking, and he used the curved lining to express universal content and an intriguing formal solution with similar efforts to those of Herbin's, Calder's, Prampolini's, Réth's and Robert Delaunay's. He found his own way of formal expression by combining the abstract elements with surrealist methods. He was not an iconic member of Abstraction-Création but he became a successful artist at the end of the operation of the association. Nevertheless, we have to mention that his entire oeuvre was feeding from his Parisian artistic experience, especially from the period of Abstraction-Création, which had a great influence on modern artists in Hungary.

Notes

- 1 Éva Hárs, *Martyn Ferenc* (Ferenc Martyn) (Budapest: Képzőművészeti Alap Kiadó-vállalata, 1975); Éva Hárs, *Martyn Ferenc Életmű katalógusa* (*Ceuvre Catalogue of Ferenc Martyn*) (Kaposvár: Somogy Megyei Múzeumok Igazgatósága, 1985).
- 2 Ferenc Martyn, *Levelek Török Lajosnak, 1926–1944* (*Letters to Lajos Török, 1926–1944*), ed. Éva Hárs (Pécs: Művészetek Háza – Jelenkor Alapítvány, 1999).
- 3 *Abstraction-Création, 1931–1936*, ed. Gladys Fabre (Paris: Musée d'Art Modern de la Ville, 1978).
- 4 Georges Roque, *Qu'est-ce que l'art abstrait? Une histoire de l'abstraction en peinture, 1860–1960* (Paris: Gallimard, 2003), 112.
- 5 Roque, 2003, 201–203.
- 6 My interview with Gladys Fabre. Paris, 12.05.2009.

- 7 *Abstraction-Création*, Paris, (I.), 1931. 1.
- 8 *Abstraction-Création*, Paris, (I.), 1931. 1.
- 9 Gladys Fabre, “Herbin, le militant de l’art non-figuratif,” in *Herbin, Musée Matisse*, (Musée Départementel, Musée d’art Moderne-Céret: Anthèse, 1994), 111.
- 10 Martyn Ferenc emlékezése Rippl-Rónai Józsefre, Nádor Tamás rádióriportja, 1967, (Memory of Ferenc Martyn to József Rippl-Rónai. Radio report by Tamás Nádor. 1967). Archives of the Institute of Art History, Research Centre for the Humanities, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Adattár MDK-C-II, 577.
- 11 *Martyn* ed. Éva Hárs (Budapest: Helikon Kiadó, 1999), 6.
- 12 János Horváth, “A Rippl-Rónai tanítványok. Rippl-Rónai művészetének hatása az 1910-es években Kaposváron” (The Students of Rippl-Rónai. The Artistic Influence of Rippl-Rónai in 1910’s in Kaposvár), *Somogyi Múzeumok Közleményei* 18 (2008): 337–354. and *Letter of Rippl-Rónai*. Kaposvár, 17.05.1925. Genthon István művészettörténeti hagyatéka. (Art Historical Heritage of István Genthon) Archives of the Institute of Art History, Research Centre for the Humanities, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Adattár MKCS-C-1–36, 766.
- 13 My interview with the daughter of Henri-Jean Closon (who was a member of the circle of Herbin, Delaunay, Beöthy in *Abstraction-Création*). Paris, 14.01.2010.
- 14 *Letter of Ferenc Martyn. Paris. 03.09.1933.* in Hárs, 1999, 93. and *Letter of Ferenc Martyn. Paris. 23.06.1933.* in Hárs, 1999, 92.
- 15 *Hommage à Martyn* ed. Katalin Keserü (Pécs: Pécsi Galéria, 1999).
- 16 *Letter of Ferenc Martyn. Paris. 26.06.1932.* in Hárs, 1999, 78.
- 17 *Letter of Ferenc Martyn. Paris, 07.01.1934.* in Hárs, 1999, 101.
- 18 *Letter of Ferenc Martyn. Paris. 25.02.1934.* in Hárs, 1999, 104–105.
- 19 *Letter of Ferenc Martyn. Paris. 28.11.1933.* in Hárs, 1999, 98.
- 20 *Letter of Ferenc Martyn. Paris, 23.11.1933.* in Hárs, 1999, 99.
- 21 *Abstraction-Création*, Paris, (II.), 1932, 1.
- 22 *Letter of Ferenc Martyn. Paris, 07.01.1934.* in Hárs, 1999, 101.
- 23 “Martyn Ferenc: Magyarok és franciák, Cézanne óta. Párizs, 1938” (Ferenc Martyn: Hungarians and French after Cézanne. Paris, 1938), in *Martyn Ferenc, Töredékek*, ed. Tibor Tüskés (Pécs: Baranya Megyei Tanács, 1979), 31.
- 24 We should redate the creation of Martyn’s work from 1934. Éva Hárs did not correctly emphasise which works were born in 1934. My suggestions are based on facts from Ferenc Martyn’s correspondence with Lajos Török. In his letters he mentioned that in 1934 he made abstract works in two periods, from January to June and in late November. In first period he writes: “Recently, I did mostly graphics, and working on some paintings – this regimen will remain.” (*Letter of Ferenc Martyn. Paris 24.02.1934.* in Hárs, 1999, 104.) Indeed, it remained in late November, too. We can conclude that he created watercolours and red chalk drawings of *Sailboats*. Martyn wrote only later in 1936 that he had begun to work in oil. Consequently, the early works may be registered as watercolours. The artistic level of these non-figurative pictures supports these assumptions. Martyn himself wrote that watercolours were not fully abstract works, thus labelling the pieces aquarelles. So in 1934 he made semi-figurative watercolours, the *Sailing Series*, and at the same time the ship-themed graphic pieces. The reason is that Martyn tended to focus

- on one motif within a single artistic period, and he made variations of the drawing compositions of the paintings.
- 25 Letter of Ferenc Martyn. Paris, 13.12.1934. In Hárs, 1999, 115.
 - 26 „Anyway, the „Abstraction” group’s 5th issue is coming– and I will be in it with two reproductions.” (translation) – Letter of Ferenc Martyn. Paris, 13.12.1934. in Hárs, 1999, 113.
 - 27 Letter of Ferenc Martyn. Paris, 13.12.1934. in Hárs, 1999, 113.
 - 28 Georges Roque, *Art et science de la couleur: Chevreul et les peintres, de Delacroix et de l’abstraction* (Nîmes: Jacqueline Chambon, 1997).
 - 29 Georges Roque, “Les vibrations colorées de Delaunay: Une des voies de l’abstraction,” in *Robert Delaunay, 1906–1914*, ed. Pascal Rosseau (Paris: Centre George Pompidou, 1999), 53–64.
 - 30 Kálmán Maklár et al., *Alfred Reth 1884–1966* (Budapest: Maklár Artworks, 2003), 68.
 - 31 Katharine Kuh, *The Artist’s Voice: Talks with Seventeen Artist* (New York: Harper & Row, 1962), 38–51.
 - 32 *Abstraction-Création*, Paris, (I.), 1931. 3.
 - 33 Fabre, 1974, 112.
 - 34 „–Which languages do you speak and write? – (Martyn): French, English, Spanish, German, good knowledge of: Italian, Catalan, Portuguese” (translation from Hungarian to English) A Vallás-és Közoktatásügyi Minisztérium művészkatasztere (Catastrial Records of the Ministry of Religion and Public Education), 1940. Archives of the Institute of Art History, Research Centre for the Humanities, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Adattár MKCS–C–I–57
 - 35 Letter of Ferenc Martyn. Paris, 12.05.1934. in Hárs, 1999, 105–106.
 - 36 My interview with the daughter of Henri-Jean Closos. Paris. 14.01.2010.
 - 37 Tüskés, 1979, 31.
 - 38 Tibor Tüskés, *Szó és vonal. Martyn Ferenc irodalmi kísérőrajzi (Word and Line. Ferenc Martyn’s Illustrations)* (Kaposvár, Somogyi Múzeum, 1970), 7.
 - 39 Flóra Mészáros, “Ég és Föld kötőjele. Martyn Ferenc a párizsi Abstraction-Création kapujában,” (The Hypen between Sky and Earth. Ferenc Martyn at the Doorstep of Abstraction-Création), *Új Művészet* 21. (2010), Nr. 10: 16–18.
 - 40 Anna Moszynska, *Abstract Art (World of Art)*, (London: Thames and Hudson, 1990).
 - 41 Fabre, 1978, 24–25
 - 42 Michel Seuphor, *Arp* (Paris: Hazan, 1964).
 - 43 Fabre, 1978, 25–26.
 - 44 Letter of Ferenc Martyn. Paris. 25.04. 1936. in Hárs, 1999, 138–140.

Behavioural Patterns of the Social Classes Through British Movies

A Close Reading of *Billy Elliot*

Nikoletta Koruhely

Just like individuals, works of art, such as paintings, novels or films, are always and necessarily products of their age and cultural surroundings.¹ Clearly, the more we know about the constituents and the processes of the given 'culture' – which, based on Graeme Turner's concept, we could define as the totality of the phenomena "which construct a society's way of life: its systems for producing meaning, sense, or consciousness"² – the more the certain work of art or problem investigated becomes alive in front of our eyes. The topic of this paper – a short and condensed version of a more elaborate thesis – obviously demands the application of this more complex type of examination, too, as we are to deal with the movie *Billy Elliot* and scrutinize individuals' behaviour in the motion picture as an example of a wider social context.

Therefore, the main aims of the present paper would be the following: the methodical application of the devices of interdisciplinary research to point out the organic connection and mutual relationship between single entities and cultural context, how they affect each other – meaning by this both the relationship between the cultural background and the movies, and the social context and the individual. More concretely, I am going to examine the behaviour of the members of different social classes, both on a collective and on an individual level, as it appears in the movie. This investigation definitely requires a social psychological focus, along with the justification of the theme of film analysis, the concept of "film as social practice"³ that provides the theoretical basis for the subsequent detailed examination of the motion picture.

The Movie Focus – "Film as Social Practice" and Guidelines to Watching a Movie

Graeme Turner, a cardinal figure in the discipline of film studies, uses the expression "Film as Social Practice" as the title of his book dealing with the cultural integration of movies. "The world 'comes to us' in the shape of stories," explains Turner.⁴ Right from the first years of our lives, we are introduced into the world and the order of our culture through narratives, such as children's tales, short stories and novels, anecdotes told by family members, friends and acquaintances, accounts of certain events reported by the media or any people around us, perhaps just overheard in a vehicle of public

transport.⁵ In the narratives and meaning of these stories we can always find various appearances and components of “the ways in which our culture makes sense of itself”;⁶ and also diverse characteristics and ways in which individuals belonging to different groups in our culture make sense of the world and transmit their reality to others surrounding them, especially their children.⁷ That is, from these stories we get to know the order of the given cultural world from the perspective of different people or groups.

Therefore, cultural systems, including the problem of social classes, gender and many more, are just as visible in movies as in any other narrative mentioned above.⁸ In films, all of these processes and components appear probably in an even more conscious way, as the director and other members of the crew, wishing to show a realistic picture of the world, have to recreate and reproduce all the details that make the scenes, the events and the characters in the movie credible and authentic. Accordingly, the social dimension of the film we are interested in does not appear only at the level of the narrative or the plot of the story, but also in the form of codes from everyday life.⁹ “We look at gestures, listen to accents, or scan a style of dress, in order to place characters within a particular class,... or subculture, for instance”.¹⁰ The listed phenomena are all social and psychological codes used for communication and the organisation of a culture. These points are exactly what Graeme Turner suggests for further examination when analysing a movie from the social perspective. He says that the most revealing method is to scrutinize the things we take for granted, and to close-read the film in this manner, looking into those devices that make the film “appear to be an unmediated view of reality”¹¹.

A central concept is *mise-en-scene*, a term linked with André Bazin and referring to “the arrangement of elements within the frame or the shot”¹². He examines factors, such as the movement and placement of characters and props, the position and focus of the camera, the editing, the use of lighting or the set design, in order to see how it is possible to generate certain meanings with the help of all of these. This method indicates that the aesthetics of the film, the devices or components taking part in the completion of a scene, the overall “language” of the movie, as Turner calls it, and the ideas or concepts it expresses are not really separable.¹³

The Social Focus – The Social Identity Theory and the Sociology of Knowledge

For all of those who are somewhat familiar with English culture, it is common knowledge that strong class consciousness is a crucial peculiarity of this country and different groups of society can quite easily be recognized by their ways of self-expression, speech, clothing or movement, their representation of certain values, as well as their habits – to conclude, their behaviour as a whole. All these aspects can be discussed through the lens of the so-called ‘social identity theory’, which Michael Argyle, a central figure of twentieth century social psychology, applies as “the social psychological model of class system” in his book titled *The Psychology of the Social Class*¹⁴. This work is going to serve as the social psychological basis of the upcoming analyses respectively.

English society is historically class-conscious, still regarding class as the most important and definitive type of all social groups.¹⁵ Although in sociology, using the

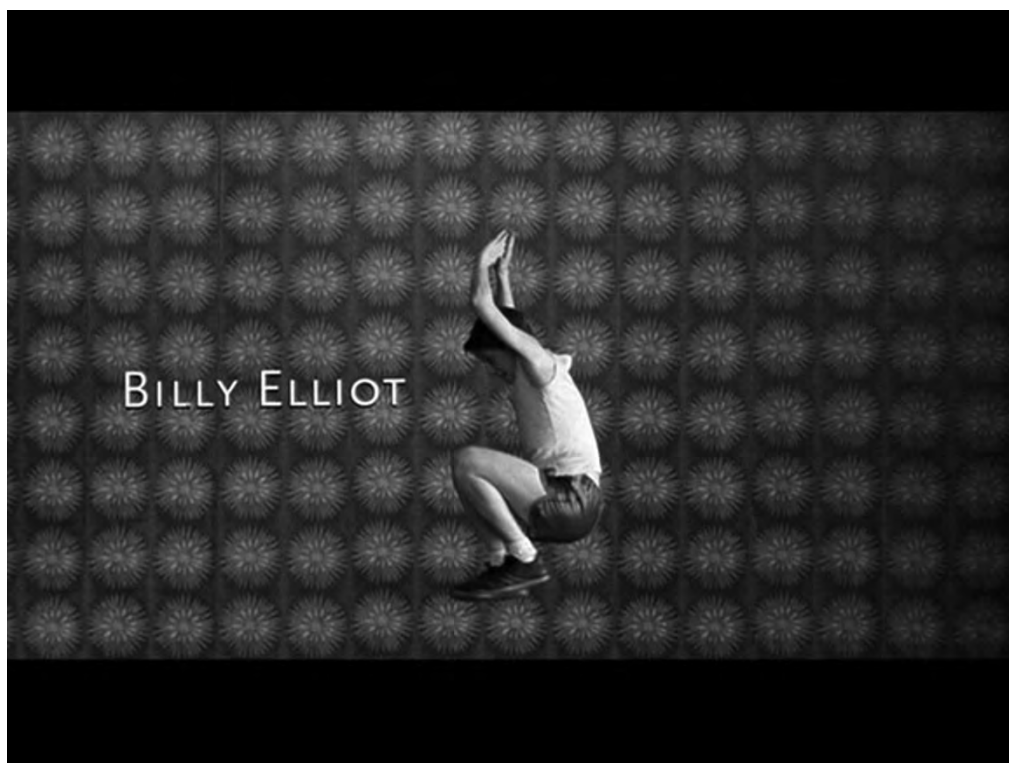


Fig. 1. Opening scene. Billy Elliot. 2000

simple three-level model (upper class, middle class, working class) or the alphabetical system (A, B, C1, C2, D, E), a person's class is most often decided based on his occupation, the question is much more complex than that.¹⁶ A much more subtle way of examination is especially necessary because of the phenomenon of social mobility.¹⁷ As a consequence of the fact that class borders are less rigid nowadays, a kind of mixture might be perceived concerning the characteristics once typical of certain social classes; we could, for example, distinguish different concepts of the social class based on occupation, income, life style or manners.¹⁸ All these are heavily influenced by the social groups that an individual is surrounded by in certain phases of their life.

Social identity theory was first developed by Henri Tajfel in Britain during the 1970s.¹⁹ Based on Peter L. Berger's and Thomas Luckmann's earlier research, he defined 'social identity' as "that *part* of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership."²⁰ Communities' situations, relations or conflicts are largely defined by the *beliefs* that the certain groups cultivate about themselves, the other party and their relationship.²¹ The problem of the definitive beliefs in certain social groups has raised several further questions.²²

Towards the end of the 1970s John C. Turner joined Tajfel in his research,²³ and carried out a shift in focus during the 1980s: instead of examining the relations between social groups, he took a micro sociological direction, and concentrated more and more

on the cognitive dimension of social identity theory, including questions of the individual's socialization and self-categorization as a consequence of his intercourse with the members of the community in which he is present.²⁴ Turner's 'self-categorization theory' elaborated on the problem of social influence processes, such as 'normative influence' within a group, which discusses how the individual acquires and internalizes the values, motives and behavioural norms displayed by the significant in-group members surrounding them.²⁵ These influential people, with whom the individual is able to identify in some way, are called the 'reference group'²⁶ or 'the significant others'.²⁷

Peter L. Berger states the following: "Society does not stop at the surface of our skins. Society penetrates us as much as it envelops us."²⁸; while James W. Vander Zanden adds that "The structures of society become the structures of our own consciousness"²⁹. Indeed, the society and the social group that surround us shape our identities, personalities, emotions, way of thinking, fortunes, behaviour and view of the world and life in several ways;³⁰ that is, our social surroundings create the reality we live in, and as a consequence, people belonging to different segments and groups of society live in different realities. The discipline that tries to understand the process through which these realities evolve and "penetrate us" is called the 'sociology of knowledge'.³¹

All human actions, both social and private, are carried out under pressure of habitual routines. When we repeat the same actions regularly, they become patterns, which can be practical, because behaving according to them minimizes the necessary input of energy and the psychological burden of responsibility for the decisions made during the given activity.³² With the hardening of these patterns, social reality gets its shape, grows less and less easily modifiable; the habitual order undergoes the process of 'objectivisation' or 'institutionalisation', and stands before the new generations, who have to get socialised into these patterns and in this environment, into 'the world' as such. This institutionalised world, which we internalise during our socialisation, existed before our birth and will continue to exist after our death; therefore, we tend to, as we are made to, perceive it as an objective reality. The process through which the child becomes a member of society is 'primary socialisation', while the later phase in which the individual joins in certain new segments of society and acquires various new roles is called 'secondary socialisation'. Usually, it is primary socialisation that is the most important in life, and all the further experiences, changes and developments need to be compatible with the basic structures learnt at an early age.³³

A child is therefore born into what is for them an objective community and environment, where the 'significant others' they are to identify with are already given; at this stage, a conscious choice on the individual's side is, of course, out of question. The people responsible for his socialisation define the child's reality, selecting from and interpreting the phenomena of the world for him based on their own social position and personal history.³⁴ However, socialisation is never completed or over. In contrast with primary socialization, in the case of secondary socialisation we have more chance to choose the significant others whom we 'allow' to influence us, but deep, emotional identification is much less usual at this stage. Secondary socialisation means acquiring new roles and the knowledge involved, most often connected to work: from the vocabulary and the previously unknown concepts, through the behaviour and emotional delicacies necessary, to the attitudes and values to advocate.³⁵



Fig. 2. The audition scene. Billy Elliot. 2000

Social groups coming to life during the socialisation process described above are perceived in terms of social categories – such as social classes, for example –, which serve as the basis of the social identity process on the individual's side, and a central concept of the social identity perspective in social psychological research. "People cognitively represent a category or group as a prototype"³⁶, 'prototype' referring to a set of characteristics and norms attached to the given group. Prototypes do not only have descriptive functions, but prescriptive as well: they summarize the qualities of the behaviour expected from members within the group. When we categorise people, it means that we look at them searching for the characteristic attributes of the community they belong to, we measure them against the prototype. This so-called 'depersonalisation' is usual in the case of both in-group and out-group members; thus, it helps the social identity process and contributes to 'group cohesion' from the aspect of both the intention to conform or 'converge', to come as close to the prototype as possible within our own group ('normative behaviour'), and the wish to differ or 'diverge' from other groups' prototypes. Group cohesion, logically, has to be maintained to assure the existence of the group; as a consequence of which members diverging from the prototype and converging to another community usually trigger disapproval. What happens in the case of these marginal in-group members is usually that their 'reference group', the one they have chosen as an influence group, is, for some reason, not the same as their in-group.³⁷ A nice example of this is the situation when the individual emotionally identifies with a significant other during the process of his secondary socialization, and this influential person, in addition, is a member of one of his out-groups. In such a case, a radical reformation can be expected to evolve in the subject's perception of reality.³⁸

The fact of choosing an 'outsider' necessarily indicates or involves that the individual has realized or starts to realize the fact that the world, at least at some points, is more subjective than it may appear to be during the primary socialization process, and, as a consequence, this subjective reality can be altered. This is the social psychological model of social mobility. Berger and Luckmann point out the process of becoming a member of the upper-middle class as that change in social position which means the greatest alteration in the individual's reality, with all the new patterns and knowledge to internalize in order to gain admission and fit in. Although this transformation lacks real 'resocialization', that is, the *total* restructuring of the primarily learnt reality patterns, in some ways it can be even more problematic than that. In contrast with a man who starts a new life among aborigines, for example, a socially mobile person has to build his developing reality on the basis created through primary internalizations; in other words, he needs to reconcile his basic and presently evolving world, with all the emotionally and socially important significant others involved. The more the situation approaches resocialization without actually becoming that, the more compelling the individual's circumstances will be: amendments, modifications and reinterpretations of the basic reality and patterns are absolutely necessary. The former or long-time-present significant others, although probably supportive and accepting to some extent, may disapprove of the changes, as the world in which the individual spent their earlier years is still the objective, or at least the dominant, reality for them; which differences possibly cause clashes and serious strain in the socially mobile person's life.³⁹ With this question, however we are moving into an area of more specific problems, which I would rather discuss during the analysis of *Billy Elliot*, applied to the concrete situations emerging in the movie.

Billy Elliot⁴⁰

Billy Elliot is the story of a young boy from a working-class family, developing a passion for ballet, which is to change his life and some concepts traditional in his miners' town entirely. The eleven-year-old Billy gets acquainted with ballet while attending the boxing lesson his father forces onto him. Billy joins the dance class secretly, as he knows that most people around him, including his father and brother, would not approve of his ambitions, which are way too strange for the community. The middle-class teacher, Mrs. Wilkinson, recognizing the talent and the possibilities in the young boy and finding out about the father's objections, teaches Billy privately; however, when the process takes a serious turn and the Royal Ballet School comes up as a real option in Billy's life, further clashes between the classes, groups, their values and convictions are unavoidable. The conflicts are emphasised by additional factors, such as the setting: Lee Hall, the scriptwriter, chooses to put the story in the context of the 1984 miners' strike, which was, as he says "a class war where the state was mobilized against a small group of people."⁴¹ The movie also includes a piece of the news saying "In a speech to Tory MPs yesterday Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher referred to members of the striking National Union of Mine Workers as the 'enemy within.'" The strong working-class at-

titude of “we against them”⁴² is, therefore, fuelled by the tense and critical historical situation, as well as by some other aspects to be detailed later, making it even harder for Billy to pursue his dream encouraged by the middle-class surrogate mother figure, Mrs. Wilkinson. Lee Hall, moreover, made a research while writing the script, visiting the Royal Ballet School to interview dancers coming from social environments similar to Billy’s background, which must have contributed significantly to the realistic and vivid description of the character’s road of both psychological and physical hardships to an upper-middle class life.⁴³

As Graeme Turner suggests, the opening scenes of a movie are crucial, carrying lots of important pieces of information regarding the whole work, creating interest in the viewer and the basis of the audience’s identification with the characters.⁴⁴ We would have a closer look at the first few minutes of *Billy Elliot* and the themes and points anticipated by this part before getting down to the actual analysis of the behavioural patterns. The first thing that we can see of the movie is the inscription “Durham Coalfield, North East England, 1984” on a monochrome black screen. This line, and the less than cheerful colour perhaps, immediately create expectations in us about what is going to come next, even if we do not have a full picture of the historical background. However, in the following seconds we get something very different instead; that is, the first symbolic conflict of the movie evolves right at the very beginning. At this point, we cannot see any typical working-class areas, miners, members of the police or scenes of a riot and clashes between social groups. First, two young, longish hands, definitely not associated with physical workers, appear on screen putting a record on really carefully, with sensitive movements; then the protagonist’s childish side comes to be introduced, Billy jumping on the bed, making acrobatic moves and unembarrassed facial expressions (Fig. 1). The scene is slowed down, which has further consequences: the illusion of childhood’s carefree state is emphasized by the mimicry becoming funny in slow motion and the apparent lightness of the figure. As a result, we tend to perceive a peaceful and happy atmosphere, instead of a threatened, heavy one that, connected to *heavy* industry and a problematic social situation, we would expect based on the initial inscription informing us about the setting.

The music, T-Rex’s ‘Cosmic Dancer’ contributes to the effect of the pictures a lot, which is not only because of the fact that the lyrics fit the story perfectly, telling about a boy’s love of dancing, the possibility of the opinion that this passion is strange, and even attaching the artistic interest to the mother’s character in a way, but because of the general associations evoked in the audience familiar with the concepts of glam rock or glitter rock, as well. As the title also indicates, a characteristic motif of this branch of music is the topic of space and the desire of defying tardiness and ‘gravity’⁴⁵ – just like the impression we get watching Billy jumping –, the physical phenomenon often symbolizing social and psychological burden or limiting conventions imprisoning the individual. Another important feature of this style is that the representatives wish to transmit their message through relatively feminine means of expression, which obviously puts an emphasis on the question of gender as well. It might be interesting to add, moreover, that T-Rex, especially as assumed in the film through the details of the tracks ‘Cosmic Dancer’, ‘Get It On’ or ‘I Love To Boogie’, lack really elaborate lyrics, and rather rely to a great extent on non-verbal communication, such as the use of voice,

music, clothing or movement, just like Billy does, expressing himself typically with the help of dancing from the very first scenes of the movie to the very last one.

Right in the first four minutes, however, another switch comes again, reinforcing the dissonance present in the movie: Billy goes out to the kitchen, which is a relatively unassuming, cluttered and apparently somewhat abandoned interior with the dirty cooker, the bowls loosely thrown onto each other at various points of the room, the plastic bags and kitchen clothes hanging from above or the paint peeling off the wall; it does not maintain the carefree illusion any more. He makes breakfast and takes it into his grandmother's room, but she has disappeared, so the boy rushes out to the street, the houses of which represent a typical working-class environment,⁴⁶ to find her. Thus, we learn about some of the difficulties and the social context of the family, and the task of the boy to take care of the old lady and play the role of the responsible adult in their relationship, which fact is expressed especially well by the next scene, where we can see the two characters in the field appearing under the threatening, armoured forces of the police preparing for a possible clash with the group of the miners on strike. Watching the young boy's now careworn and adult facial expression, we tend to sympathize with him and know that the illusion of a carefree childhood, created previously, is ruined for the rest of the movie. All the motifs visible in the first four minutes and mentioned above come up again and again in the motion picture, wrapped in the patterns of behaviour attached to the social classes.

Turning our attention to the detailed analysis of the behavioural patterns in the movie, I would like to start with the discussion of the characters' speech, which is one of the main signals of social position.⁴⁷ Ferdinand de Saussure points out the difference between the concepts of '*langue*' (language) and '*parole*' (speech): the former refers to the grammar, the vocabulary and the possible utterances within the system, while the latter means the individual utterance, which involves choosing certain expressions, structures, and so on, from the language. Naturally, this selection from the components of the language on the individual's side is greatly affected by his identity, both social and personal, as a consequence of which it is possible to acquire plenty of interesting pieces of information about the individual, or character, by paying close attention to his speech – from the aspect of both the style and the message content.⁴⁸

The differences in accent and style between the members of the working class and the upper-middle class, for example, in the audition scene (Fig. 2), which is perhaps the most emblematic part concerning this clash, are striking. I am not going to deal with pronunciation differences here; I would rather focus on the use of language. We can associate different 'linguistic codes' with the social groups in question, which Michael Argyle calls 'high' and 'low' versions of language. While middle-class and upper-class speakers express their thoughts in a more sophisticated way, using standard grammar, lots of subordinate clauses and a large vocabulary, working-class speech can be characterized by the lack of complex sentences, the use of shorter clauses, smaller vocabulary, less varied adjectives, or tags, such as 'didn't I' or 'you know'.⁴⁹ It is enough to think of the examiner's long, elevated sentences, such as "Mr. Elliot, I'm afraid that mutual respect and self-discipline are absolute prerequisites for any pupil in this school." and the father's short, perplexed answers, like "Yes. Yes, of course." or the four-letter words that occur so often in the speech of the lower class male figures in the other scenes. Tony



Fig. 3. Practice. Billy Elliot. 2000

alone, for example, uses the word ‘fuck’ more than twenty times in the movie, applying it in order to express feelings, dominance and emphasis – factors that the examiners definitely achieve in different ways; for instance, through moderate gestures, mimicry or by altering the tone of voice, and they also typically indicate imperatives with the help of elegant expressions such as “Would you like to...” or saying “Thank you” at the end of the audition.⁵⁰

Naturally, speech is also primarily formed by the family and the immediate environment. Argyle points out an interesting fact in connection with the question of elaborated talk in the family: he says that while middle-class parents usually answer questions in a more detailed way and give more information, in the case of lower classes the reply to ‘why’ questions is often ‘because they do’, which obviously does not help the children’s development neither in communication skills, nor in logical thinking.⁵¹ A good example from the movie is Billy’s enquiry about what is wrong with his doing ballet and the father’s repeated answer “You know”, or Billy’s question to Tony about death and the brother’s not too informative reply “Fuck off”. As a contrast, we could mention the conversation about the strike between Billy and Debbie’s father, in which the man always gives elaborate answers to Billy’s questions; for example, when he, not getting the point the father is trying to make, asks “Who doesn’t [have a leg to stand on]?”, he gets an explanatory reply and some food for thought: “The miners. It stands to reason, doing it. Some pits are just uneconomical. If it costs more money to pay everybody to dig the coal out than you get for it when you sell it, what does that tell you?”

Another reason for a more simple speech in lower-class circles is the fact that the members normally have to communicate only with people from the same environment,

using the same layer of the language – the residents of a miners’ town, for example –, in contrast with the members of the middle or upper middle class, who usually meet a lot of different people because of their job – like teaching at a university –, which obviously results in better communication skills. In accordance with these conditions, working-class speech really presumes that the listener will be a friend or a neighbour, that is, someone who has the same background and knowledge about the world, and, this way, often omits explanations, uses a less diverse vocabulary, half sentences and more concrete phrases with less general information on a certain issue; while middle and upper class speech is more abstract, reflecting on categories instead to express ideas more clearly and elaborately.⁵² At this point we could mention the change in Billy’s speech during the conversation with the examiners. We, who have seen his story, know what he means by answering only “Dancing” to the question of the man about what he loves about dancing, but those who do not have this background knowledge, do not have much chance to grasp the point.⁵³ However, right before leaving he manages to express his thoughts about this new phenomenon in his life in a more elaborate way – comparing his dance experience to electricity: “I sort of disappear. Like I feel a change in my whole body. Like there is a fire in my body. I’m just there flying like a bird. Like electricity. Yeah, electricity,” which also indicates his ability to adapt to the other class, their ways of a more sophisticated, sensitive self-expression.

The somewhat closed or limited state of the lower classes discussed above is apparently in connection with their habits and concepts connected to travelling and the perception of space and distances, as well. It is worth contemplating a little on the meaning of the word ‘neighbour’ – the differences of its possible understandings for certain classes are rather telling. For lower classes ‘neighbour’ refers to someone living next door, for the middle-class it indicates someone living in the same street or nearby. A working-class person really feels at home in his house, street and the local pub, where he continuously runs into the people he knows – as it can be seen is *Billy Elliot*, too. Tony’s sentence “I’m telling you, the whole world will be on the picket line this morning”, is quite telling, although obviously not meant literally: probably, most of *his* world will really be there. Therefore, a working-class person is less geographically mobile, as Argyle puts it,⁵⁴ and travels less, which is clear from the bus scene of the movie, with the father admitting that he has “never made it past Durham”. In contrast, for the middle and upper classes making trips in the country and going abroad are natural activities.⁵⁵ Probably we do not suppose, for example, that the friendly and relaxed boy at the audition, taking it for granted that he, as well as Billy, can attend the entrance exam any year, had any problems or difficulties coming to the Academy.

Focusing still on the audition scene, we may deal with another problem that has already been referred to, namely the phenomenon when people from different groups or classes meet, and try to accommodate to each other’s style, either to make themselves accepted by the other, or simply to avoid communication difficulties – which effort is, of course, not always successful, as it is indicated in the movie as well. Here, it might also be useful to remember the ‘convergence-divergence rule’. When somebody wishes to be approved of, liked and admitted by a group, he tries to live up to the norms and the prototype of the given group as much as he can; and the more he approaches the ideal type of that group, the more attractive he is found by the members. Quite

obviously, in the case of an entrance exam this factor plays a central part, with the applicant converging towards the examiners.⁵⁶

The audition scene serves as a peak of the movie, expressing that Billy is definitely getting closer and closer to the social group denoted by the Academy, which is shown by his divergence from the working-class prototype of speech, movement, values or view of life in general. This situation and marginal position he acquires in his original social group is, accordingly, honoured by disapproval on the working-class characters' side in the beginning, but accepted and supported later.⁵⁷ It is important to note that, in spite of the problems, we can see signs of the father trying to live up to the atmosphere of the Academy, too – a significant part of the motivation for this is probably his wish to help his son's advancement. Among these signs we could list some thought-out answers – like “I wouldn't exactly say I was an expert” –, the quite everyday idea of putting on elegant clothes, or taking up relatively moderate gestures and movement. The last criterion, body language is, however, a more complex issue, both in the movie and in general, and leads us to further questions, such as problems of gender or aggression.

It is common knowledge that non-verbal communication is harder to control than verbal, as the former is not consciously learnt, but more basic and instinctive; consequently, it is harder to change our habitual facial expressions, gestures and movement than our words.⁵⁸ The father is, therefore, just as unsuccessful in moving elegantly as in his less than sophisticated answers. In contrast, the gestures of the examiners are delicate, even graceful, which can be taken as a by-product of ballet – a very special form of expressing emotions through movement. Such a coordinated, we could say aristocratic, body language Billy acquires through hard work and many years by the end of the movie. A beautiful, again emblematic, moment of transition is the “angry dance”, where we can perfectly see how the aggression present in Billy is turned masterly into energy for self-control, self-development and the creation of an artistic self-expression.

The feminine tinge of ballet is obvious from several factors in the work; for example, it is especially emphasized by the presence of Michael as the only male figure to like the idea of Billy dancing from the beginning, the relation assumed between homosexuality and the love of ballet, or by the fact that all characters supporting Billy in dancing are female (Mrs. Wilkinson, Debbie, the grandmother) or feminine (Michael) figures. To some extent, it is natural that this type of dance is associated with women rather than men, and that, for the lower classes in particular, the movement and gestures of the upper classes in general may seem more feminine than their own, as well, which problem is also connected to the issue of male gender roles in different groups of society. As I have already mentioned, while we see the movement of the upper classes, even apart from ballet, as quite elaborate, similarly to their speech, lower-class movement is much rawer, more masculine – it is enough to think of the typical leisure activities Billy is expected to take up: boxing, football or wrestling.

The choice of the ballet *Swan Lake* for the movie carries special significance as well. Motifs of orientalism and melancholy are well-known features of Romanticism; accordingly, the upper-middle class of the nineteenth century constituting the audience of ballet performances was attracted to adaptations of legends and fairy tales with lots of magical elements and wizardry. Romantic fantasy embodied on stage required new ways of expression and techniques that are considered the most complicated bal-

let steps still today, evoking the atmosphere of flying and lightness – a component of the so-called ‘elevation-technique’ is visible in the final scene of *Billy Elliot*.⁵⁹ The style wishing to defy gravity was and is really seen as feminine, even in the field of ballet: the illusion of flight and fairylike floating achieved through slow jumps (like the one we see at the end of the movie) and long-kept-out tiptoe poses or other movements involving tiptoeing (such as the ‘pas de bourrées’ Mrs. Wilkinson mentions) made female dancers come to the headlights and men had to serve this idea of femininity, too. This feminine atmosphere of ballet reached its peak in the second half of the nineteenth century, when it became normal for women to play male roles in order to bring the air described above to completion. Probably, it is no exaggeration to call Tchaikovsky’s *Swan Lake*, written in 1875–1876, choreographed by Marius Petipa and Lev Ivanov, the most significant manifestation of this ballet era and philosophy.⁶⁰ It is important to note, however, that the performance appearing at the end of the movie is not the classic version of the ballet, but a peculiar adaptation directed and choreographed by Matthew Bourne. The most controversial point of his work was that he exchanged the genders, having men play the swans and casting the role of Odette, the Swan, on a male dancer, too – renamed as Odile –, which rearrangement of the piece triggered praise as well as disapproval after its world premiere in 1995; naturally, the main charge was the advocacy of homosexuality. In the final scene of the movie we can see the dancer Adam Cooper in the role of the grown-up Billy, playing the part of the Swan, which Bourne gave him in his production of the ballet.⁶¹ From all these, it is quite clear that the choice of a certain ballet, along with other factors in the film, serves to emphasize the gender problem evolving in this situational and social context, the conflict between the lower-class male role and the feminine tinge of doing ballet, in order to point out the basic and penetrating nature of the obstacles before Billy.

The father pushes his son instinctively to behave according to the male role accepted in their community because of the problem of integration. Adhering to behavioural norms is not only important because of the cohesion of the given group, which is especially significant for the miners’ community in these harsh times, but it also helps the individual’s life inside the group, making him an accepted and respected member.⁶² The man, clearly, wants the best for his son by not only providing him with a model of working-class male behaviour every day, but also pushing him to do boxing, indicating social and family tradition by the fact that the gloves were Billy’s grandfather’s. He also forbids him to do ballet, the feminine tinge of which would be embarrassing both for the boy and for the whole family in this rawly masculine miners’ area and a historical situation that requires the display of strength. It is interesting to note that the father and Tony start to support Billy’s plans diverging from the working-class model when they realise that he has the chance, indeed, to get into the Royal Ballet School, which is not only significant from the aspect that they eventually recognize how talented Billy is, but also because if the boy is admitted and becomes a ballet dancer, the working-class role will no longer be relevant for him. In short, the emphasis is not on making Billy behave according to the working-class patterns (any more), but on the fact that he should fit the social context he is going to live in. There are some cases, however, where, in turn, Billy expresses his attachment to his original group.



Fig. 4. Closing scene. *Billy Elliot*. 2000

From this aspect, it is interesting to pay attention to the scene in which Billy hits the boy in the dressing room. Billy feels perplexed and naturally still alien from the place, the people, the atmosphere present at the Academy, which he aspired for before. This feeling of disappointment or failure obviously generates great tension in him, which problem he solves, so to say, by seeking relief in physical violence. So, what happens here is that psychologically, and also symbolically, as a consequence of feeling out of place at the Academy, he expresses a kind of attachment to his own social class and male model, which he previously tried to break loose from. The tension, of course, is not only created by the concrete situation evolving at the Academy, but it is probably bottled up by the time of the emotional explosion in question. Here we should remember Berger's argument about the psychological burden of social mobility.⁶³ Applying the model to Billy, we can say that even before the audition scene he has to cope with a complicated issue, as he continuously makes efforts to adapt to all of his significant others: the original ones, his family as well as the chosen one, Mrs. Wilkinson, balancing between the two parties, more or less successfully. The pressure is indicated by several confrontations along the movie, such as the ones between the father and Mrs. Wilkinson, Billy and his father, or Tony and Mrs. Wilkinson, during which Tony even calls the teacher "middle-class cow", making the social nature of the clash clear. The case is further complicated by the fact that, as later everyone admits, Billy's late mother, belonging to the group of the original significant others, would join Mrs. Wilkinson in the debate;⁶⁴ thus, the sides are levelled. Naturally, as all of these characters are really important for him, Billy tries not to betray anyone, which is, apparently, impossible. After making his serious decision and, as a result of hard work, having everyone around supporting him, it is not surprising at all that, feeling defeated at the audition, the tension in him culminates and he displays signs of "anxiety, insecurity and

psychological disorder", which John H. Goldthorpe lists as natural consequences of the frustration involved in social mobility,⁶⁵ in a working-class way, showing his loyalty to the community that eventually stands beside him.

The lower-class male role is associated most typically with masculinity in all levels of society. Lower-class speech is, for example, considered more masculine, and middle-class men tend to use working-class, or 'under-correct' speech styles to appear more manly. Similarly, a man is expected to be strong and able to keep order, often through means of violence. Generally speaking, such occurrences of violence are more usual in working-class environments. This phenomenon is partly a result of the fact that working-class parents are prone to use physical punishment instead of reasoning, the typical approach in the case of middle-class ones.⁶⁶ In the movie both Billy and Tony are hit by the father; in contrast, when Debbie's father passionately argues that the mines should be closed, and Billy tells Debbie afterwards that "I thought he was gonna hit me", the girl's answer is only "Don't be silly", meaning that such a scene is unimaginable for her, even when the man is "under a lot of pressure" and "drinks too much". On the other hand, it is often quite natural for working class children that, because of the environment they live in, which might as well be dangerous, they need to learn how to protect themselves; and the ability of displaying physical strength might be necessary for boys to reach a respectable position in the community as well.

For the upper classes, however, the importance of refined manner is greater than this common masculine role discussed above, which is indicated, for example, by the fact that while in the working-class environment hitting someone is an accepted, manly act, at the Academy it is assessed as a serious disciplinary problem. Still, we should not think that the display of power has less significance here: methods of dominance exist in these circles as well. One sign of this is the 'dominant speech style', that of the examiners, which is "loud, confident, expressive, of lower pitch, with more talk,...more interruptions"⁶⁷ and an even, measured speech rate, concerning the content, it can be characterized by statements, strong opinions and commands, accompanied by a serious facial expression and the head held still.⁶⁸ In contrast, the 'deferential style', that of the father and Billy, is "less loud, nervous, high pitched, less expressive, with less talk and no interruptions,"⁶⁹ accompanied by fidgeting, moving jerkily, holding onto something or assuming a restricted space.⁷⁰ In spite of the moderate, and perhaps in a way less masculine, atmosphere of this more aristocratic way of keeping order, it is very effective, which is perfectly shown by the behaviour of Billy and the father in front of the board of examiners.

It is clear that Billy's figure is a typical in-between character moving upward the social ladder. He is luckily in possession of some properties, like energy or will-power, that help him a lot with the process of social mobility. The keywords of upward social mobility are all grouped around the concept of self-development, which is strongly attached to education, and which we assess as a prototypical middle-class feature. While in working-class families the main aim is usually to discipline the child, middle-class parents are more concerned with his encouragement or achievement motivation, transmitting knowledge, teaching him how to think and develop self-direction.⁷¹ The acquirement of these abilities creates the notion of internal control in the individual, that is, the view and belief that he is a powerful and responsible person, and can bring

about change in his life and environment. Clearly, this conviction, strengthened to a great extent by education, means a lot of help with shaping one's future. In contrast, working-class individuals tend to believe in external control, that is, they think that they have no real effect on the upcoming events around them, which obviously has its realistic causes, but often they apply this view, as a stiffened pattern, even in situations they could alter, creating unnecessary limits.⁷² The signs of the differences regarding how parents raise and handle their children, and the result of the fact that middle-class parents tend to read more to the child, tell more tales and buy more educational toys and books, can be seen by the second year of the child concerning his abilities such as communicational skills, handling of abstract notions or attention span.⁷³ Therefore, while middle-class children are prepared consciously for education, working-class children are at a disadvantage by the time they go to school.⁷⁴

This is the problem Gillian Evans deals with in her book titled *Educational Failure*: how it is possible that, although the main device of social mobility, education,⁷⁵ is more or less available for everyone today, most working-class children are still unable to utilize the opportunity.⁷⁶ The main answers are concerned with the disadvantages from the beginning, the concept of school as a middle-class institution and the labelling process of teachers. We find that school as such, requiring responsibility, diligence, efficiency, thoroughness, and self-control from the pupil, embodies middle-class values and morality,⁷⁷ which may not only cause frustration and resistance because of the lack of preparedness on the child's side, but also because of his reluctance to accept and switch to the guidelines or rules of the other group,⁷⁸ to succumb to the so-called 'hidden curriculum', which attempts to make everyone middle-class.⁷⁹ Moreover, the display of some working-class social values, like toughness or the expression of the 'we-against-them' attitude, at school – which most often serves as an avoidance strategy triggered by the sense of failure⁸⁰ – is highly impractical, contributing to the teacher's labelling of the child, which, based on the discipline and the perceivable educational skills, usually happens by the eighth day.⁸¹ This categorisation, which is both natural and dangerous in such a situation, has the power to work as a self-fulfilling prophecy: as these children are neither believed or expected, nor helped in proper ways to learn, they are likely to be unable to profit from the chances theoretically provided by the school.⁸²

Therefore, it is crucial that Billy internalizes many of the values described above. He certainly acquires some of them, in a basic form, during his interaction with the mother. We cannot see much of this process; however, we may follow how Mrs. Wilkinson's character becomes especially important in his later development, cultivating these traits and aiming to complete them (Fig. 3). The fact that the teacher, logically, represents the principles concerning child raising discussed above is not only shown by the numerous certificates of merit on Debbie's wall, and by her rewarding the boy's work by caring for him, but by her comments and orders towards Billy and the other pupils, too. We find examples in the form of sentences like "Look ahead! Where is your confidence?" addressed to the whole class, "I think, you are good enough to go for it." or "It would mean an awful lot of hard work" addressed to Billy, and the recurring topic of the necessity of concentrating and making efforts to succeed. The following conversation between Billy and Mrs. Wilkinson, in which the teacher is pushing the boy to (want to) achieve his potential, can be found in the movie twice:

- Concentrate! / That's because you're not concentrating!
- I am concentrating.
- You're not even trying.

Encouraged by his teacher, Billy becomes more and more enthusiastic about ballet and the idea of self-development and education.

In the last scene (Fig. 4), the setting is London, approximately ten years later – based on the date of Bourne's production of the ballet *Swan Lake*, and the supposable age of the characters. Billy is already a successful ballet dancer, and has acquired all the technical and psychological skills required. We can see him dancing the main role in the performance, carrying out a long jump, a step of the elevation technique, evoking the same illusion of weightlessness that we could see at the beginning of the movie, although in a different way. Indeed, we may as well feel that, apart from the anti-gravity atmosphere and a sense of lightness, everything has changed. Billy has gone a long way from his spring bed to the stage of the Theatre Royal Haymarket, and from dancing around happily to T-Rex for his own entertainment to becoming part of Tchaikovsky's *Swan Lake*, appearing in front of influential audiences. This situation, implicitly, also involves the expectation to perform excellently on all occasions and means a lot of hard work, not only up to the point where the dancer reaches the level of proficiency, but permanently, too. This factor, I think, can be perceived very well in the whole scene, especially through the serious, tense and excited facial expressions of both Billy and the others.

Some people I have talked to about the movie are of the opinion that we actually miss the most exciting part: the years of hard work – to meet “the highest standards not just in ballet, but in ordinary academic work”, as the examiner says – and the adaptation to a new world are omitted. However, we may as well have educated guesses about what could have happened, based on the last few minutes of the movie and the secondary literature. We can read a really telling description of the expectations a ballet dancer has to meet and the most important rules he has to follow in Richard Johnson's article entitled “Ballet: The Secret Lives of Dancers”. In the report, the Royal Ballet's finest members talk about the competition in the profession, the aim to achieve and maintain perfection concerning both technique and personal beauty, the strict diet, the painful process of learning the often inhumane steps, the regular injuries, or the long, exhausting and demanding hours of practice every day.⁸³ The article also adds that the situation is the “worst when the company is doing *Swan Lake*”,⁸⁴ because it contains numerous examples of the hardest steps in ballet; that is, the choice of this work in *Billy Elliot* also serves excellently as an expression of the amazing technical achievement on the protagonist's side. From this success and the circumstances mentioned above, we know, moreover, that work plays the central role in Billy's life; it is, certainly, present as a most significant target and cause of his actions, a source of aspirations, pleasure and satisfaction, which attitude is typically associated with the upper classes.⁸⁵

We come to the conclusion that Billy, becoming a recognised ballet dancer, has found his way into the upper-middle-class world of this profession, adapting the necessary, prototypical traits we have mentioned. As it is assumed, this socialization into his new group is assured by the Royal Ballet School; thus, education, which we have already identified as the main device of social mobility.⁸⁶ Zanden calls boarding schools,

just like prisons and monasteries, 'total institutions', which restructure the behavioural patterns of the 'inmates' to a considerable degree so as to prepare them for a certain way of life in a given community,⁸⁷ a new reality. Here we should think of the social psychological features of social mobility, such as having two separate social networks, possibly involving tense situations at times, or the reduced frequency of meeting and communication with the original group.⁸⁸ The latter we can also see from the fact that the father still navigates London rather awkwardly; he cannot have visited his son too often, and Billy, as a pupil of a boarding school, cannot have spent much time at home, either. Tony feels more comfortable in the city, which might suggest that he is more mobile, in either sense of the word, too. Another somewhat obscure point in the final scene is Michael's presence. It is clear that the father and Tony do not expect to meet him in the audience; still, it is curious that they have their seats next to each other. Provided that Billy invited Michael, it is strange that he has not mentioned it to his family, and indicates a limited kind of communication; while if the young man, who used to be the supportive and enthusiastic best friend, arrived spontaneously, because he "wouldn't have missed it for the world", that shows us a break in the old relationships even more – just like Mrs. Wilkinson's absence.

Therefore, the audience does not get much information about the years and the circumstances of the protagonist's nice transition from a rawer, premature representative of the working class into an elevated, and actually celebrated, member of the higher circles of society. Still, even if the perhaps hardest and most exciting phase, the years of persevering work and tricky situations in a different social group, remains unseen, it becomes clear that we can examine the characteristics and behavioural categories through the points that the writer and the director choose to show us, viewers from this long and edifying psychological development of a child and a young man, and from the influences around him, as well as the organic connection between the individual and the social context.

Notes

- 1 Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality. A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* (New York: Anchor Books, 2011), 3–9.
- 2 Graeme Turner, *Film as Social Practice* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1993), 41.
- 3 Turner, 1993.
- 4 Turner, 1993, 68.
- 5 Turner, 1993, 68.
- 6 Turner, 1993, 3.
- 7 Turner, 1993, 68; Berger and Luckmann, 2011, 130–134; Norman K. Denzin, *Images of Postmodern Society. Social Theory and Contemporary Cinema* (London: Sage Publications, 1992), 157.
- 8 Turner, 1993, 133; Denzin, 1992, 149–150.
- 9 Turner, 1993, 79, 156.
- 10 Turner, 1993, 79.
- 11 Turner, 1993, 41, 79, 156, 159; Denzin, 1992, 150.
- 12 Turner, 1993, 35.
- 13 Turner, 1993, 12, 35, 40–50.

- 14 Michael Argyle, *The Psychology of the Social Class* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 62.
- 15 Michael Brake, *The Sociology of Youth Culture and Youth Subcultures. Sex Drugs and Rock 'n' Roll?* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980), 50, 67; Gillian Evans, *Educational Failure and Working Class White Children in Britain* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 2; Kate Fox, *Watching the English. The Hidden Rules of English Behavior* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 2004), 15.
- 16 Fox, 2004, 15.
- 17 John H. Goldthorpe, *Social Mobility and Class Structure in Modern Britain* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), 42, 114.
- 18 Fox, 2004, 406; Roger Keith Kelsall, *Graduates: The Sociology of an Elite* (London: Methuen Publications, 1972), 19.
- 19 Michael A. Hogg, "Social Identity Theory," in *Contemporary Social Psychological Theories*, ed. Peter J. Burke (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006), 111–112 (111–136).
- 20 Henri Tajfel, *Differentiation Between Social Groups. Studies in the Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations* (London: Academic Press, 1978), 63; John C. Turner, *Rediscovering the Social Group. A Self-Categorization Theory* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988), 29; Hogg, 2006, 113.
- 21 Hogg, 2006, 113.
- 22 Turner, 1988, viii.
- 23 Hogg, 2006, 112.
- 24 Turner, 1988, ix, 42, 44.
- 25 Hogg, 2006, 113; Turner, 1988, 35; James W. Vander Zanden, *The Social Experience. An Introduction to Sociology* (New York: Random House, 1988), 111.
- 26 Zanden, 1988, 112.
- 27 Berger and Luckmann, 2011, 131–134.
- 28 Quoted in Zanden, 1988, 5.
- 29 Zanden, 1988, 5.
- 30 Zanden, 1988, 5.
- 31 Berger and Luckmann, 2011, 3.
- 32 Berger and Luckmann, 2011, 53.
- 33 Berger and Luckmann, 2011, 53–55, 69–70, 129–147.
- 34 Berger and Luckmann, 2011, 131–143, 147; Hogg, 2006, 115; Michael A. Hogg and Dominic Abrams, *Social Identifications. A Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations and Group Processes* (London: Routledge, 1988), 25.
- 35 Berger and Luckmann, 2011, 143–144.
- 36 Hogg, 2006, 118.
- 37 Hogg, 2006, 118–124; Turner, 1988, 49–52, 101–2; Tajfel, 1978, 63; Hogg and Abrams, 1988, 21, 23, 159, 166.
- 38 Berger and Luckmann, 2011, 156–157.
- 39 Berger and Luckmann, 2011, 161–163.
- 40 *Billy Elliot* (BBC Films/Arts Council of England/Studio Canal/Tiger Aspect/WT2/Working Title Films, 2000) *Director*: Stephen Daldry; *Script*: Lee Hall; *Cast*: Julie Walters (Mrs. Wilkinson), Jamie Bell (Billy Elliot), Jamie Draven (Tony Elliot), Gary Lewis (Jackie Elliot), Jean Heywood (Grandma), Stuart Wells Michael Caffrey),

- Mike Elliot (George Watson), Janine Birkett (Billy's mum), Nicola Blackwell (Debbie Wilkinson)
- 41 Billy Elliot Official Home Page; David McDowall, *An Illustrated History of Britain* (Harlow: Longman, 2004), 178–180.
 - 42 Argyle, 1994, 184.
 - 43 Billy Elliot DVD; Geoff Mayer, *Guide to British Cinema* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2003), 12–13, 24.
 - 44 Turner, 1993, 93.
 - 45 The most emblematic example is David Bowie's 'Space Oddity' and his 'Ziggy Stardust' project, but another T-Rex song appearing in the movie, entitled 'Ride a White Swan' could also be mentioned.
 - 46 Argyle, 1994, 113.
 - 47 Argyle, 1994, 123; Fox, 2004, 73, 82.
 - 48 Turner, 1993, 45–46; Hogg and Abrams, 1988, 192–195.
 - 49 Argyle, 1994, 127–129.
 - 50 Argyle, 1994, 54–55.
 - 51 Argyle, 1994, 130.
 - 52 Argyle, 1994, 128–132.
 - 53 Argyle, 1994, 145.
 - 54 Argyle, 1994, 73, 75, 89.
 - 55 Argyle, 1994, 70, 108.
 - 56 Argyle, 1994, 123, 137–138; Hogg and Abrams, 1988, 186, 195, 201.
 - 57 Hogg, 2006, 125–126.
 - 58 Argyle, 1994, 134.
 - 59 Rózsi Vályi, *Balettek könyve* (Book of Ballets) (Budapest: Gondolat Kiadó, 1980), 37–38; Richard Johnson, "Ballet: The Secret Lives of Dancers," *Telegraph* 29 June 2009.
 - 60 Vályi, 1980, 37–38, 95–96; Johnson, 2009.
 - 61 John Cunningham, "Coming on in Leaps and Bounds," *The Guardian* 16 September 2000.
 - 62 Hogg, 2006, 118–122.
 - 63 Berger and Luckmann, 2011, 162.
 - 64 Mrs. Wilkinson's and the mother's figures are also connected very efficiently by the scenes of the appearance at the fridge and the dance instructions at the sport hall, put right next to each other. In the two parts we perceive the same peaceful and intimate atmosphere, with Billy paying attention and accepting the caring instructions devotedly, which creates continuity between the scenes. While the psychological relationship between the two characters on screen remains, the mother's figure is replaced by Mrs. Wilkinson.
 - 65 Goldthorpe, 1980, 176.
 - 66 Argyle, 1994, 85, 89, 106, 136.
 - 67 Argyle, 1994, 140.
 - 68 Argyle, 1994, 54–55; Zanden, 1988, 181.
 - 69 Argyle, 1994, 140.
 - 70 Zanden, 1988, 181.

- 71 Argyle, 1994, 86–111, 171–188; Zanden, 1988, 474.
- 72 Argyle, 1994, 165–167.; Zanden, 1988, 474.; Michael Argyle, *The Psychology of Happiness* (London: Methuen, 1987), 99–100.
- 73 Argyle, 1994, 171; Evans, 2006, 4; Michael Argyle and Monika Henderson, *The Anatomy of Relationships* (London: Heinemann, 1985), 204–205.
- 74 Argyle, 1994, 136–137, 180; Evans, 2006, 2, 9; Zanden, 1988, 474.
- 75 Argyle, 1994, 178.
- 76 Evans, 2006, 1–2.
- 77 Zanden, 1988, 474.
- 78 Evans, 2006, 9–11, 72.
- 79 Zanden, 1988, 474.
- 80 Evans, 2006, 55, 69, 72, 97.
- 81 Argyle, 1994, 182.
- 82 Evans, 2006, 1–2; Zanden, 1988, 474.
- 83 Today the practice at the Royal Ballet normally happens in the form of seventy–five–minute classes followed by six–hour–long rehearsals often without a break, which fact is quite revealing regarding the everyday of ballerinas; just like the fact that the pain threshold of ballet dancers is three times higher than that of ordinary people. Johnson, 2009.
- 84 Johnson, 2009.
- 85 Goldthorpe, 1980, 238–239.
- 86 Argyle, 1994, 178.
- 87 Zanden, 1988, 123.
- 88 Goldthorpe, 1980, 152, 176–177; Berger and Luckmann, 2011, 161–163.

Index of Names

The index, compiled by Anna Tüskés, includes the names in the main text only.

- 'Abd al-'Azīm Qarīb 75
Acton, Arthur 63
Ahl al-Bayt 69
Alessandro di Giovanni 61
Alexander the Great 60
ʿAlī, Shi'i imam 69
Andrássy family 226
Andrew II of Hungary 28
Andrew III of Hungary 29
Anjou, House of 59
Anne, St. 46
Apafi family 50
Apafi, Nicholas 51
Apollinaire, Guillaume 193-205
Apor, Péter 83
Archipenko, Alexander 195
Argyle, Michael 256, 262-264
Arp, Hans 252
Árpád dynasty 7
Artinger, Kai 220
Aspremont-Reckheim count widow: Rákóczi, Julianna 101
Badr al-Dīn Lūlū, atābeg of Mösel 73
Balogh Jolán 61-63
Bánfi family 43-45
Bánfi I László 44
Bányay András 111
Bányay György 111
Barabás Miklós 115-123
Barbo, Marco 61
Barcsay Zsigmond 118
Baricz Albert 118
Barisz György 116
Barkl, Franz Josef 200
Barkóczi Krisztina 82
Barthélémy, Sophie 198
Battaglioli 157
Batthyány, Athur / Artúr count 127, 128, 137, 138
Bazin, André 256
Beatrice de Aragona 59, 60, 62
Béla IV of Hungary 22, 29
Belasco, David 171, 172
Bellandi, Alfredo 59, 63, 64
Benczúr Gyula 203
Benedetto da Maiano 61
Benigni family 121-123
Benigni, Clarisse 121
Benigni, Heinrich 121
Benigni, Ida 121
Benigni, Joseph 121
Benigni, Louis 121
Beöthy, Étienne 240-242, 244, 248
Bér Dezső 221
Berchtold, Count 232
Berény Róbert 204, 221, 222
Berényi, Thomas 84, 85
Berger, Peter L. 257, 258, 260, 267
Berlin, Irwing 171
Bernhard, Lucian 216
Bethlen Lujza 118, 119
Bethlen Róza 118
Biró Mihály 212, 213, 215, 218, 219-222
Blanche, Jacques-Émile 202
Bod Péter 117
Bode, Wilhelm von 62, 63, 145-161, 227
Bollé, Hermann 34
Bone, Henry 232
Bonfini, Antonio 60
Bonnard, Émile 195
Bourne, Matthew 266, 270
Bölöni György 199
Braque, Georges 195, 196

- Breadsley, Aubrey 166
 Bregno, Andrea 60, 61
 Breton, André 251
 Brousse de Verteillac, Herminie de la 197, 201
 Bruckenthal, Joseph 121
 Brukenthal, Samuel 121
 Brummer József 202
 Brunszvik Júlia 127, 128, 133
 Buchinger, Günther 15
 Burgess, Gelett 198
 Burgess, William 181
 Buzás Gergely 8
 Caglioti, Francesco 62, 63
 Calder, Alexander 243, 248
 Camoin, Charles 196, 198
 Canaletto 157
 Carl, Doris 61
 Carlo, Carlo del 63
 Carré, Albert 173
 Caruso, Enrico 63
 Cattaneo, Danese 230, 231, 235
 Cattaneo, Raffaele 157, 158
 Cecchetti, Bartolomeo 155
 Cézanne, Paul 195
 Chabaud, Auguste 198
 Chagall, Marc 195, 202
 Charles I of Hungary 59
 Charles VI Emperor 86, 93
 Cheops 128
 Chevreul, Michel-Eugène 247
 Chirico, de Giorgio 241, 251
 Civitali, Matteo 62, 63
 Clauss-Szarvady, Wilhelmine 204
 Clermont-Tonnerre, Aimé François Philibert
 de 200
 Clermont-Tonnerre, Élisabeth de (Gramont,
 Antonia Corisande Élisabeth de) 202
 Closon, Henri-Jean 248, 250
 Cooper, Adam 266
 Craven, Hawes 168, 169
 Czóbel Béla 198, 202, 204
 Csáky József 240
 Csáky Krisztina 82, 90-93
 Csányi Károly 227
 Császár, Ferenc 128, 129
 Dalmata, Giovanni/Joannes Duknovich 60-62,
 64
 Dandorf (Fähnrich) 120
 Dario 60
 Degas, Edgar 166
 Delacroix, Eugene 222
 Delaunay, Robert 195, 240, 246-248, 250, 252
 Della Robbia 149
 Della Rovere 145
 Della Torre, Moise 145-149
 Delmár Emil, dr. 225-237
 Dénes Valéria 204, 205
 Derain, André 194-196, 198
 Desiderio da Settignano 62, 63
 Diriks, Karl Edvard 194, 196
 Dirksen, W. von 227
 Dobrovolszky, Lajos 114
 Domenico di Gregorio Dominici 60
 Donner, Georg Raphael 93
 Dorigo 159
 Douanier Rousseau 195, 196
 Duchamp, Marcel 195
 Dufy, Raoul 196, 198
 Dunoyer de Segonzac, André 198
 Edward VII King 204
 Einstein, Carl 200
 Eisen, Keisai 167
 Eleonora de Aragona 59, 62
 Elizabeth of Sicily, wife of Ladislaus IV of
 Hungary 29
 Eller, Peter 92, 93
 Éon, Henry 198
 Eötvös Miklós 84
 Erdődy Gábor 83
 Ernst, Richard 229
 Erolí, Bernardo cardinale 61
 Esmā'il I, shah of Persia 67, 68, 73
 Este, Ercole d' 62
 Esterházy 75
 Evans, Gillian 269
 Fabre, Gladys 239, 241
 Faivre, Jules Abel 222
 Falus Elek 215, 218
 Faragó Géza 219, 221
 Farmoser, Alexander 60
 Favenza 151
 Fedák Sári 171
 Fejérváry Gábor 226
 Ferdawsi 69
 Ferdinand I of Aragon 59
 Ferenczy István 226
 Fergusson, James 184
 Fiamberti, Tommaso 62, 63
 Figdor, Albert dr. 227
 Fischer 153
 Foote, Helen S. 235
 Forray Iván, count 127-140

- Földes Imre 217, 219
Francis I, Holy Roman Emperor 93
Francis, St. 50
Franciscus, Franciscan Guardian of Stein 20
Frankland, Charles Colville 119
Frederick III, Holy Roman Emperor 60
Freeman, Margaret 235
Friedlender, Max 153
Fronius, Karolina (wife of József Miske) 118
Gabo, Naum 240
Galimberti Sándor 204, 205
Gallé, Émile 166
Garai family 44, 50
Garai Miklós 46, 50
Gentilini, Giancarlo 63
George, St. 42, 50
Gerevich, László 60
Géza, Prince of Hungary 9
Gian Galeazzo Sforza 59
Giedion, Sigfried 230
Giesswein, Sándor 204
Gilbert, William Schwenck 165-169
Girieud, Pierre Paul 198
Gleizes, Albert 240
Gobel 198
Goldthorpe, John H. 268
Gorky, Arshile 252
Görgey Atrúr 200
Gráf Ilma 193, 194, 199, 200, 205
Gräf-Dreyfus Ilma 193, 194, 199, 200, 205
Grassalkovich, Antal 84, 85
Gregorio di Lorenzo 59, 62
Gselhofer, Karl 119
Guetta, Giuseppe 152, 153
Guggenheim, Michelangelo 145, 146, 152-160
Guidetti, Lorenzo 61
Guillaume, Paul 195
Gyügyei Nagy Zsigmond 202-205
Haas, Johann 121
Haas, Miss 120, 121
Habsburg-Lorraine, Joseph August of Austria, Archduke 204
Hagenauer, Johann Baptist 233, 234
Hahnloser, Hahn R. 229
Hall, Lee 260, 261
Haller, Gábor 85
Haranghy Jenő 217-219, 221
Hare, Augustus 145
Hárs Éva 239
Hatvany family 226
Hegedüs, Gyula 174, 175
Heicke, Josef / Joseph 127-140
Hélión, Jean 240
Herbin, Auguste 240, 242, 243, 246, 248-252
Hercules 59, 62
Herzog Mór Lipót 226
Hiroshige, Andō 167
Hirsch family 226
Hitsch 118
Hittner, Mátyás 110
Hochmeister, Martin 120
Hoffmann Edith 230
Holdschincky, Oscar 151, 158
Holl, J-C. 198
Horthy Miklós 200
Huldschinsky 63
Huszár Vilmos 240
Husza&Winter 128
Ilchester, Earl of 228, 229
Illica, Luigi 173
Incze Károly 116, 117
Innocent VIII, Pope 60
Italicus, Silius 60
Ivanov, Lev 266
Jacquemart-André 63
Jakowski, Anatole 252
Jankovich Miklós 226
Jankovicz, Miklós (Νικόλαος Ιωάννου Ταληδόρος, around 1750-1817) 104, 105, 107-110, 112-114
Jaschik Álmos 166, 175, 176
Johannes Aquila 43, 44
John Corvinus 59
John, St. 63
Johnson, Richard 270
Jones, Sidney 165, 168-170
Kahnweiler, Daniel-Henry 195
Kállay Miklós 167, 174, 175
Kaloján Prince 29
Kandinsky, Wassiliy 240
Kandler, Charles 234
Kaplon (clan) 79
Karkiyānids 72
Karlovsky Bertalan 166
Károlyi Ádám 80
Károlyi family 79-95
Károlyi Ferenc 83-85, 88, 90-94
Károlyi Klára 85
Károlyi László 82, 95
Károlyi Mihály 80, 86
Károlyi Sándor (†1728) 80
Károlyi Sándor (1668-1743) 79-95

- Katā'i 68
 Katona Béla 199
 Katona Mme 199, 205
 Kauffmann, Richard von 227
 Kawaguchi, Yoko 170
 Kéméndy Jenő 172
 Kiki (?) 199, 200
 Klimt, Gustav 166
 Klinger, Julius 216
 Klinger, Peter 219
 Klingsor, Tristan (Leclère, Léon) 196
 Koháry family 88, 91
 Koháry Judit 82
 Kohnér, Adolf 226
 Kollár Tibor 15, 33
 Kóródy Elemér 202, 205
 Kováts Sándor 116
 Körösfői-Kriesch Aladár 166
 Kress, Samuel H. 63
 Krug, Ludwig 235
 Kupka, František 240
 Kurth, Julius 176
 Kūsefī, Hosām al-Dīn 69
 Kūchelmeister, Anton 105, 108, 112
 La Fresnaye, Roger 198
 Lackfi family 44-46
 Lackfi István 45, 46
 Ladislaus I of Hungary 9, 45
 Lalique, René 166
 Lamerie, Paul de 229, 230, 234
 Lanna, Albert 236
 László Fülöp 197, 200-202, 205
 László István 117
 László Philip Alexius de 197, 200-202, 205
 László Philip de 197, 200-202, 205
 Latzl 122
 Laurencin, Marie 196, 205
 Lawrence, Thomas Sir 232
 Le Fauconnier, Henri 202
 Lécharny, Louis-Marie 202
 Lechner Ödön 182, 184
 Léger, Fernand 195
 Leighton, Frederic 183, 187
 Leissch 120
 Lendvai Károly 199
 Lengyel, Menyhért 174, 175
 Leo XIII, Pope 200
 Lermolieff 157
 Lessing, Julius 158
 Lewis, Thomas Hayter 184, 188
 Lhote, André 204
 Lippi, Filippino 61
 Long, John Luther 171
 Lorenzo, de'Medici/ il Magnifico 60
 Loti, Pierre 171
 Löwenstein (Bauer), Thea 200
 Lubomirski, Prince Theodor 84
 Luckmann, Thomas 257, 260
 Ludwig, Gustav 147, 159, 160
 Lyka Károly 200
 Madarász Adeline 199, 205
 Madarász Viktor 199
 Maestro delle Madonne di marmo 59, 62
 Magritte, René 241, 251
 Mainssieux, Lucien 198
 Mandach, Conrad von 229
 Manet, Édouard 166
 Manguin, Henri 195, 196, 198
 Mann, Klaus 200
 Mann, Thomas 200
 Marcato, Antonio 145, 146, 151-153
 Marczibányi István 226, 232, 234
 Margaret of Hungary, St. 38
 Maria Laskarina, Queen of Hungary, wife of
 Béla IV of Hungary 29
 Maria Theresa Empress 93
 Mariacher, Giovanni 227
 Marquet, Albert 196
 Martyn Ferenc 239-252
 Mascagni, Pietro 165
 Massimiliano I d'Asburgo 59
 Mastro Giorgio 149
 Matisse, Henri 195, 196, 198, 204
 Mattia Corvino 59-62, 64
 Mehmet II 59
 Meiss, Millard 230
 Meller Simon 227
 Membré, Michele 75
 Mesmacher (general) 121
 Messenger, André 165, 171
 Messiaen, Olivier 166
 Metzinger, Jean 202
 Middeldorff, Ulrich 63
 Mihalik Sándor 230
 Mikics (Mukics) (lieutenant colonel) 118
 Milliken, William M. 234, 235
 Minerla, Guido 153
 Mino da Fiesole 61-63
 Mīr Mosavver 76
 Miró, Joan 252
 Miske, József 118
 Mitisz (captain) 118

- Moholy-Nagy László 240
 Moll, Balthasar Ferdinand 93
 Moll, Johann Nicolaus 93
 Molnár, Stephan 90
 Monciatto, Francesco 61
 Mondrian, Piet 240, 252
 Monet, Claude 166, 171
 Montefeltro, Federico da 60
 Montesquiou-Fézensac, Robert de 201, 202
 Moronato, Stefania 146
 Moszynska, Anna 251
 Möringer 120
 Mravik László 226
 Mucha, Alphonse 166
 Muhammad, prophet of Islam 69
 Munch, Edvard 166
 Munkácsy Mihály 202, 203
 Mussolini, Benito 200
 Nádasdy, Tamás 128
 Nagy de Gyügye, Zsigmond 202-205
 Naldini, Naldo 60
 Nemes Marcell (Nemes, Marcel von) 226
 Neuhauser, Ferenc 121
 Neuhauser, József 121
 Nicholas, St. 45
 Novak, Andeo 38
 Novák, István 85
 Nyáry Albert (baron) 203
 Oman, Charles Chichele 225, 228, 229, 234, 235
 Ongania, Ferdinando 145, 146, 149, 150
 Oppenheim, Benoit 227
 Oppenheim, Louis 216
 Orosz István 222
 Othon Friesz, Émile-Achille 196
 Özdögei Besenyő, Pál 51
 Padits, Péter 109, 110, 114
 Pálmay, Ilka 172
 Pannwitz, Walter von 227
 Panofsky, Erwin 230
 Passuth Krisztina 193, 202, 204
 Paul II, Pope 61
 Pausania 160
 Pázmány Péter 83
 Petipa, Marius 266
 Petit, Georges 202-204
 Petrarca 155
 Phillips, J.G. 231
 Piazzetta 157
 Picabia, Francis 195
 Picasso, Pablo 166, 194, 195, 198, 243, 252
 Pick 236
 Pisani, Linda 62, 63
 Pius XI, Pope 200
 Planiscig, Leo 227, 231, 234, 235
 Poliziano, Angelo 60
 Pope-Hennessy, John 63
 Poznanski, Victor-Yanaga 240
 Prampolini, Enrico 246, 249, 252
 Prister, Lada 15, 34
 Puccini, Giacomo 171-173
 Pulszky Ferenc 226
 Puskárszky János 101
 Puy, Jean 196
 Puy, Michel 197
 Qāğār(s) 74
 Raffay Endre 15
 Rákóczi Julianna, widow of count Aspremont-Reckheim 101
 Rakovszky Antal 234
 Rakovszky István 232
 Rátkay, Márton 171
 Reichsteiner 153
 Reiffenstein&Rösch 128
 Repton, Humphrey 182
 Réth Alfréd 240, 246, 247, 252
 Ricard, Louis Gustave 204
 Ricchetti, Consiglio 145, 146, 150, 151
 Ricci, Giovanni 62, 63
 Riccio 155
 Richter, Gustav 149
 Ricketts, Charles 169
 Ridolfi, Signora Marchesa 156
 Riegl, Alois 67
 Rietti, Moise 145, 147, 148
 Rippl-Rónai József 166, 241, 244, 246, 249
 Robbia, Luca della 61
 Roma 61
 Romano, Gian Cristoforo 60
 Roosevelt, Franklin 200
 Rosenberg, Léonce 240
 Rossellino, Antonio 61, 62
 Rostam 68, 73
 Rouault, Georges 196
 Rousseau, Henri 195, 196
 Roverella, Bartolomeo, cardinale 61
 Rufus, Curtius 60
 Sadayakko, Kawakami 172
 Safavid(s), Safavid Empire 67-69, 71-76
 Saint-Saëns, Camille 165
 San Sebastiano 155 [művésznév]
 Saul, Franciscan Guardian of Buda 28, 38
 Saussure, Ferdinand de 262

- Schaeffer, Hans 225, 231, 235, 236
 Schlemmer, Oskar 241
 Schmahl, Henrik 181-188, 190
 Schmidelli, Daniel 94
 Schmidt Péter 15
 Seghnyey (de Lapispatak) family 88
 Segnyi de Lapispatak, Borbála 80
 Segnyey, Erzsébet 82
 Seidel 150
 Seljuq(s) 67
 Seuphor, Michel 240
 Seymour-Conway, Francis Charles, 3rd Marquis of Hertford 232
 Sforza Francesco 60
 Sforza, Bianca Maria 59
 Shaykh Haydar 68
 Shaykh Safi al-Din Ardabili 68
 Sigismund of Luxemburg, King 41-43, 45, 46, 51, 53
 Signac, Paul 196
 Sixtus IV, Pope 59, 60
 Sokač-Štimac, Dubravka 30
 Soliman bey 128
 Solomon, King of Hungary 9
 Soltān Mirzā 'Alī Karkiyā, the governor of Gilān 72
 Soltān Mohammad, painter 68-70, 75
 Somogyi (hussar lieutenant) 118
 Spitzer, Friedrich 236
 Standa (baron) 122
 Steadman, Amanda 166, 167, 171
 Stein Aurél 204
 Stein, Gertrude 195
 Steiner Rezső 199
 Stephen I of Hungary 8
 Stepinac, Davorin 16, 17, 30
 Sternheim, Carl 200
 Stoll 122
 Stora, Raphael 225, 231, 233-235
 Styka, Jan 204
 Sullivan, Michael 166-168, 171, 174
 Swarzenski, Georg 227, 233
 Switzerland 127, 129
 Syra 129
 Syria 129
 Szabó János 118
 Szarvady Frigyes 204
 Szarvady, Mme 204
 Szász Károly 116
 Székely Bertalan 166, 199
 Székely, Dávid 116, 117
 Szirmay Antal 81, 82, 86
 Szobotka Imre 202, 205
 Szőke Mátyás 7
 Tahmāsp I, shah of Persia 71-73
 Tajfel, Henri 257
 Tapolcsányi Gergely 84
 Tapolcsányi Péter 38
 Tasso, Letizia 146
 Tchaikovsky, Pyotr Ilych 266, 270
 Thannhauser, Heinrich 200
 Thatcher, Margaret 260
 Thomas of Coloswar 41, 52
 Thurzó family 88
 Tiffany, Louis Comport 166
 Tihanyi Lajos 240, 244, 248
 Timurid(s) 67, 71, 76
 Tolnay, Charles de 230
 Tomasina Morosini Princess, mother of Andrew III of Hungary 29
 Tornai family 51
 Torres-Garcia, Joaquin 240
 Tóth Sándor 15, 30, 31, 35, 36
 Toulouse-Lautrec, Henri de 166
 Török Lajos 239, 243
 Tura, Cosimo 155
 Turkomans 67, 72
 Turner, Graeme 255, 256, 261
 Turner, John C. 257, 258
 Tuszgay Márton 216, 217
 Tutundjian, Léon 240, 252
 Ugrin, archbishop of Kalocsa 28, 39
 Ugrin, son of Pósa, of Csák family 20, 34
 Uzelac, Zlatko 17, 30, 39
 Valmier, George 240
 Van Doesburg, Theo 240, 241
 Van Dongen, Kees (Cornelis Théodorus Marie van Dongen) 196
 Van Gogh, Vincent 166, 167, 171, 174, 176, 200
 Vantongerloo, Georges 240, 248
 Varju Elemér 230
 Vasari, Giorgio 60, 61, 64
 Vaszary, János 166
 Vauxcelles, Louis 198
 Venturi, Adolfo 63
 Venturi, Lionello 230
 Véra, Paul 198
 Verrocchio, Andrea del 60, 61
 Viale Ferrero, Mercedes 172, 173
 Vitale da Bologna 46
 Vittoria, Alessandro 234
 Vizi, István 116, 119

- Vlaminck, Maurice de 194, 196, 198
Vollard, Ambroise 195
Volpi, Elia 63
Wagner, Otto 186
Wallace, Richard Sir 232
Warburg, Aby 220
Weill, Berthe 204
Weiss Antal 214
Whistler, James Abbott McNeill 166, 202
Wilhelm I, King of Württemberg 185
Wilhelm II, German Emperor 200
William, Oakley 202
Wolkstein, captain 118
Wren, Cristopher Sir 185
Ybl Miklós 80, 81, 90, 183, 187
Zádor Anna 230
Zanden, James W. Vander 258, 270
Zanth, Karl Ludwig 181, 184-186
Zekelius (Czekelius), Károly 122
Zichy István, gr. 229
Zichy, Edmund count 127, 129

Index of Places

The index, compiled by Anna Tüskés, includes the names in the main text only.

- ‘Abbāsīd Caliphate 73
Abaújszántó 114
Abod 107-110
‘Ağabšīr 71
Agram 20
Aiud 115-119, 122-123
Alba Iulia 35
Alexandria 128-130, 132, 134, 138
Almakerék 44, 49, 50, 52
Aq Qoyūnlū Empire 68
Aranyosapáti 108
Ardud 82, 88
Arles 166, 174, 176
Astarābād 71, 72
Āštiān 75
Augsburg 232
Bač 20, 33
Bács 20, 33
Baia Mare 193, 202
Bántornya 43, 44, 52
Barcelona 165
Bari 36
Bélapátfalva 30, 31
Béltek estate 82
Beltiug 82
Berlin 12, 63, 64, 145-160, 169, 174
Berne 225, 229, 231, 236
Beszterce 19, 32
Bistrița 19, 32
Bistritz / Nösen 19, 32
Bodrogmonostorszeg 36
Bodrogolaszi 101, 111
Bologna 128, 130, 131
Bonāb 71
Boston 232, 233
Bratislava 12, 20, 22, 90-94
Bribir 64
Britain 127
Brno 24, 26, 27
Brünn 24, 26, 27
Buda (today Budapest) 20, 22, 24, 26, 28, 32, 34, 35, 38, 41-43
Budapest 7, 12, 20, 22, 24, 26, 28, 32, 34, 35, 38, 60, 75, 127, 128, 167, 169, 170, 172, 173, 175, 176, 181-183, 185, 186, 188, 193, 199, 200, 202-204, 226, 228, 231, 232, 234, 236
Cairo 128, 130, 131-134, 136, 185
Čakovec 44-46, 52
Camaldoli 62, 63
Căpleni 79-95
Cardiff 63
Cardiff Castle 181
Carei 79, 80, 82-85, 90-91
Cârța 36
Caspian Sea 72
Čazma 30
Čehel Sotūn palace in Qazvīn 72
Ciumbrud 122
Cleveland 229, 233-235
Cluj 116, 188
Colliure 242
Cologne 236
Cordova 184
Coslariu 115, 118, 119
Cuba 230
Csáktornya 44-46, 52
Csázma 30
Csombord 122
Csongrád estate 82, 88
Dalmatia 61, 62, 64
Danube 7
Dijon 41

- Diósgyőr 61, 64
 Dombó 36
 Dortmund 231
 Dozmat 31
 Durham 261, 264
 Düsseldorf 194
 Eger 108, 109, 112
 Egypt 127, 128, 131, 132, 140, 229
 Erdőd estate 82, 88
 Erdősomlyó 28
 Esfahān 75
 Esztergom 7, 31, 35, 43, 53, 62, 64
 Fejér 7
 Felsőörs 30
 Ferrara 59, 60, 62, 130
 Fiesole 62
 Firenze 60, 61, 63, 64, 128
 Florence 60, 61, 63, 64, 128
 Forlì 62, 63
 Fort Emmanuel 131, 138
 Fót 182, 187
 France 127-129
 Friesach 19-21, 31
 Fürstenfeld 44
 Garakān 75
 Germany 127, 129
 Gilān, a province in Northern Iran 69, 74
 Goldberg 31
 Gorgān 71, 72
 Gotó 28, 39
 Gyulafehérvár 35
 Gyulafrátót 24, 26, 28
 Hague, the 231
 Hajdúdorog 104, 107-110, 113
 Halics 35
 Halmagen 20, 38
 Halmágy 20, 38
 Hälmeag 20, 38
 Halych 35
 Halytsch 35
 Heiligenkreuz 24, 26, 28, 37, 38
 Herzogenburg 31
 Homrogd 108
 Hungary 59-64, 127-129, 225-230
 Iglau 19
 Il-Khanid Empire 67, 76
 Ilok 20, 34
 India, Eastern 128
 Iran 67-76
 Ják 42
 Jásd 35
 Jihlava 19
 Kabul 204
 Kalocsa 28, 31
 Kaplony 79-95
 Kaposvár 204
 Karcag 105, 108
 Karlsburg 35
 Kaschau 20
 Kassa 20
 Kecskemét 114
 Kerc 36
 Kerz 36
 Keszthely 44, 46, 47, 52
 Knightsbridge 168
 Kolozsvár 116, 188
 Košice 20
 Koslárd 115, 118, 119
 Kostanjevica 18
 Krakow 12
 Krems 20
 Kutjevo 28, 39
 Lāhīgān 71, 72
 Landstrass 18
 Lébény 35
 Legnica 30, 32
 Liegnitz 30, 32
 Lilienfeld 24, 28, 31, 32, 37
 Limoges 233
 London 128, 168-170, 174, 182-184, 188-190, 200,
 202, 225, 228, 229, 232, 236
 Lucca 62, 63
 Mabruh 127
 Madocsa 35
 Majkovecz (Majkovec) 61
 Malaborga 130
 Mălāncrav 44, 49, 50, 52
 Malta 128-132, 137, 138, 140
 Mannheim 12
 Marāga 71
 Maros 122
 Mártonhely 44
 Māzandarān, a province in northern Iran 69, 72
 Medvedgrad 30
 Medvevár 30
 Mezökövesd 202, 203
 Milan 59, 60, 172-173
 Milano 59, 60, 172-173
 Miskolc 105, 108, 109, 112, 113
 Mösel 73
 Munich 199, 200
 Mures 122

- München 199, 200
 Nagybánya 193, 202
 Nagyenyed 115-119, 122-123
 Nagykároly 79, 80, 82-85, 90-91
 Naples 59, 62, 128-131
 Napoli 59, 62, 128-131
 New York 169, 172, 173, 202, 230, 231, 233-236
 Nile 128, 132
 Nuremberg 236
 Nürnberg 236
 Óbuda (Altófen, today Budapest) 28, 34
 Ócsa 31
 Odorheiu Secuiesc 116
 Ópusztaszer 35
 Orebić 64
 Oslavany 32
 Oslawan 32
 Otranto 59
 Ödenburg 20, 199-200
 Paris 41, 165, 166, 173, 174, 176, 193-195, 199-204,
 236, 239-241, 243-246, 248, 249, 252,
 Pécs 35, 204, 239
 Pest (today Budapest) 7, 108, 109, 112, 113, 127,
 128, 193, 204
 Pilis 7
 Pilisszentkereszt 12, 28
 Pisa 36
 Písek 20
 Požega 15-39
 Pozsega 15-39
 Pozsony 20, 22, 90-94
 Prague 12, 19, 21, 22, 24, 26, 28, 37, 41
 Pressburg 20, 22, 90-94
 Provence 176
 Ptuj, Pettau 22
 Qazvīn 72
 Radkersburg 44
 Rašt 74, 75
 Ravenna 62
 Rhine region 127
 Roma 61, 128
 Romagna, regione 62, 63
 Rome 61, 128
 Saqqara 128
 Sátoraljaújhely 103, 113
 Săvârșin 127, 202
 Senj 64
 Šenkovec 45
 Siklós 44, 46, 48, 50, 52, 53
 Širáz 69, 72, 75
 Šírlů 71
 Soborsin 127, 202
 Sombor 202
 Sopron 20, 199-200
 Sopronhorpács 24, 36, 37
 St. Ulrich 159
 Stein 20, 33
 Studenice 22
 Studenitz 22
 Stuttgart - Bad Cannstatt 181, 185, 186
 Šurany 82
 Surány-Megyer estate 82
 Switzerland 228, 231
 Szatmár county 80, 84, 88
 Szatmárnémeti 90
 Székelyudvarhely 116
 Székesfehérvár 43
 Szekszárd 36
 Szentilona 45
 Szerém county 127
 Szerencs 101-111
 Szermonostor (today Ópusztaszer) 35
 Tabriz 67, 68, 72, 73, 76
 Terracina 129
 Tišnov 22, 35
 Tihany 12
 Tischnowitz 22, 35
 Tokaj 101, 103, 104, 109, 113
 Torna 44, 50-52
 Toscana 62
 Trieste 142
 Turňa nad Bodvou 44, 50-52
 Turnišče 43, 44, 52
 Túrje 22, 24, 28, 36
 Tuscany 62
 Udine 159
 Újlak 20, 34
 Ungvár 202
 Urbino 63
 USA 228
 Uzsgorod 202
 Vaticano 61
 Velehrad 24, 27
 Velemér 44
 Velika 29
 Venezia 75, 59, 60, 128, 133, 135, 145-160
 Venice 75, 59, 60, 128, 133, 135, 145-160
 Veszprém 7, 12, 18, 24, 28, 30, 35
 Vienna 15, 24, 26, 27, 31, 41, 92-93, 127, 128, 169,
 174, 229, 231, 235
 Visegrád 7-13, 42, 61, 62, 64
 Washington, D.C. 233

- Welehrad 24, 27
Wien 15, 24, 26, 27, 31, 41, 92-93, 127, 128, 169,
174, 229, 231, 235
Złotoryja 31
Zagreb 20, 53
Zalaegerszeg 202
Zalatna 117
Zirc 29, 39
Zlatna 117
Zombor 202
Zwettl 31
Zsámbék 24
Zselicszentjakab 36

